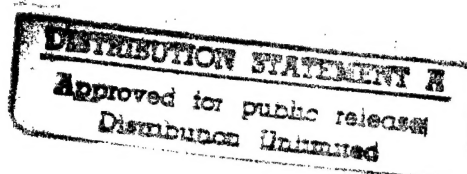


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2098

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20 January 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES FIRMLY DENIED

Press Conference in Sofia

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 pp 1, 7

[Text]

To us the "Antonov Rome case" is an unqualifiable political provocation against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, carried out to give impetus and to nurture a really hitherto unprecedented anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist campaign, declared the General Director of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, Boyan Traikov, at a big press conference in Sofia on December 17.

Rossitsa Antonova, Todor Aivazov and Zhelyo Vassilev, as well as the Turkish national Bekir Çelenk also took part in the press conference. They replied to the questions of 100 Bulgarian and over 150 foreign journalists.

Boyan Traikov said: We have gathered here in connection with an extremely unpleasant occasion, a really unprecedented case. With no guilt proved, and no court verdict, already thousands of publications and broadcasts of the Western mass media have "found them guilty" of complicity in the attempt upon Pope John-Pope II Sergei Antonov and other Bulgarian citizens. Roman Law says that everybody is innocent so long as his guilt has not been proven, and this by a verdict which has entered into legal force.

Many colleagues, Boyan Traikov emphasised, forget

this ancient human law and ethics and, in addition, they take the liberty — directly, peremptorily and often impudently — of condemning Bulgaria, of slandering, the honour and dignity of the Bulgarian people in an inadmissible manner.

We protest. Considering this representative audience, I should like to voice a most vigorous protest through you, B. Traikov declared.

Further on he pointed out that western press had published all kinds of "proofs" of the Bulgarian citizens' "guilt" which are groundless to such an extent that they often cannot survive more than a day. He indicated numerous examples of that, and pointed out that these ephemeral "proofs" were being inculcated in the minds of millions of people. They all are journalistic versions based on the "leakage of information" from the law courts in Rome, the fruits of fantasy. There is nothing definite in them. For more than 20 days since Antonov's detention no official information has been released to the world press, the Bulgarian side has not been officially notified of the accusation and no meeting of Bulgarian representatives with Antonov has been permitted.

As a result of detailed investigations, the competent

Bulgarian authorities have at their disposal a great quantity of material, written evidence, testimony of witnesses, etc. which make it clear that Antonov does not know, has never met and has nothing to do with the Turkish terrorist Agca; he does not know and has not corresponded with anyone in connection with Agca or in general with the attempt; at the time of the attempted assassination he was neither in nor near St. Peter's Square. The same holds good for Todor Aivazov and Zhelyo Vassilev.

We commit ourselves to Sergei Antonov, Boyan Traikov emphasised, because we have established that there is no such organisation or person who gave or could have given Antonov or anybody else any instruction to make an attempt upon the life of Pope John Paul II.

The Bulgarian people and Bulgaria, the BTA General Director said further, have devoted themselves to the full to their lofty efforts of building a new socialist society and living in it, they have and can have no participation whatsoever in any terrorist plots and acts. Terrorism as a rule is incompatible with the principles and essence of our policy, of our ideology, of the Marxist-Leninist teaching which is our banner in the struggle for social progress.

It is obvious that a very definite, very wide and active anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist campaign is being waged, B. Traikov stressed. Obvious are its organised nature, its inner mechanism, the stages of its development, the choice of its timing, from which one can draw the absolutely well-grounded conclusion that this anti-Bulgarian campaign has been deliberate and planned in advance, and is now being put into operation and directed. Its objectives are numerous: to influence the feelings of the Roman Catholics in the world, to breed hatred for the communists, to divert, by something sensational, the

thought of the working people in the capitalist countries from the problems of the economic and social crisis, from the policy of superarmament of NATO, to rouse among part of the Polish people, bearing in mind that the Pope is a Pole, feelings against Bulgaria and other socialist countries at a moment when the situation in Poland begins to turn normal and to darken the hopes for lasting detente and cooperation in the world.

There may probably be other aims, too, Boyan Traikov said. But those which I have pointed out are more than enough to motivate the campaign which is absolutely in the letter and spirit of the global strategy of imperialism, and in particular of the crusade against socialism proclaimed by US President Ronald Reagan in his speech before British Parliament.

Boyan Traikov expressed the hope that the Italian judicial and investigating authorities will act in a principled and fair fashion, that Antonov will be released and the campaign of slanders against Bulgaria and other socialist countries stopped. He expressed the conviction that the good friendly relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Italian Republic will not be upset and that they will develop still more favourably with mutual respect between the Bulgarian and the Italian people.

The floor was then given to the journalists to pose questions.

Todor Aivazov, replying to a question explained that he had left Italy for official reasons and that until his arrival in Bulgaria he had not been approached by any Italian government official, summoning him to answer questions in connection with the attempt on the Pope. For his part BTA's Director Boyan Traikov added that even if the convicted Turkish terrorist may have mentioned the names of the three Bulgarian citizens, this was no proof whatever, as these names could easily have been suggested to him. Agca could also have been told about and shown photos of Aivazov's flat in Rome.

Aivazov himself added: "I learned that Agca described very accurately and in detail the interior of my flat. I must tell you, however, that unfortunately for those who are in need of this description, probably owing to 'absent-mindedness', Mr. Agca failed to notice many obvious things which would have impressed even a small child. Something more: I have noticed that my flat had been tampered with in my absence. On this matter the Bulgarian Embassy has sent two notes to the Italian authorities."

The three Bulgarian citizens answering questions stated that they were ready immediately to leave for Rome to prove their innocence, provided they were guaranteed a just and proper attitude by the authorities.

Zhejyo Vassilev underlined that in his heart he deeply condemned the attempt on the life of the head of the Roman Catholic Church. He expressed his indignation over the slanderous writings against himself and his homeland.

Asked whether he had carried any gun while in Italy, he replied that he had strictly observed the Italian laws and had not been in the possession of a weapon. What is more - following the murder of Aldo Moro - the Bulgarian Em-

bassy had not made use of an authorisation by the Italian Foreign Ministry for select members of its staff to carry weapons.

Ms. Rossitsa Antonova, asked whether she has any knowledge of the state of health of her husband, said: "I take the occasion to voice my protest against the detention of my husband Sergei Antonov, based solely on the untrue statements of a proven criminal, and to protest at the fabrications about a complicity of my own in the attempt."

Antonova said she had only just received an Italian entry visa and that she had asked a letter to be delivered to her husband. She had been received at the Italian Embassy in Sofia where she had been "assured" that her husband was detained in the most comfortable Italian prison. Rossitsa Antonova said that neither she, nor the Bulgarian Embassy in Rome, had any reliable information on Antonov's state of health, and she expressed her anguish over the possibility that his health could be tampered with.

Asked whether the Turkish terrorist Agca had stayed in Bulgaria, Boyan Traikov replied that about 6 million foreigners were passing through our country every year, making use of the existing visa-free regime. The Bulgarian authorities do not exercise the kind of control on this tourist flow as to be in a condition of immediately - detecting a criminal - wanted world-wide. He recalled that, according to the western press, the terrorist had stayed in many West European countries members of Interpol, but had not been detained in any of them, despite that the authorities in all these countries had been notified by Turkey that Agca is wanted for a grave crime, (whereas no such notification had been sent to Bulgaria).

The Turkish national Bekir Celenk was then brought into the hall, escorted by two armed policemen.

Boyan Traikov said that Çelenk would be under the control of the Bulgarian authorities until clarification of the claims that he had taken part in organising the attempt on the Pope. The BTA General Director categorically refuted the fabrications appearing in the West about any preliminary release of Çelenk and underlined that the competent Bulgarian bodies are ready to lend international assistance to the clarification of the case with the Turkish national. He went on to stress that the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the PR of Bulgaria is extending an invitation to the investigating magistrate Martella to come to our country and, with the assistance of the competent Bulgarian authorities to clarify the circumstances around the attempt, to find out the truth about it.

He also stressed that he did not know any precedent when a person held under control was given the opportunity of taking part in a press conference and answering the questions of journalists. The Bulgarian authorities allowed this with the desire to maximally contribute to uncovering the truth around the attempt on the Pope.

For his part Turkish national Çelenk thanked the Bulgarian authorities for the chance of meeting the mass

media and stating his position. He qualified as slander the claims by western newspapers that he was an accomplice in the attempt and he also protested to the Bulgarian authorities for having his movements restricted by the investigating authorities. Çelenk declared that he had arrived in Bulgaria with his papers fully in order, as a businessman having business contacts with many countries, including Bulgaria. He said that he did not know the terrorist Agca and that he was prepared to leave for Italy to defend himself in court, if the Bulgarian authorities permit this, and if he is guaranteed genuine justice in Rome.

As to Turkey's demand for Çelenk's extradition, Boyan Traikov replied that this was in the competence of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the PR of Bulgaria which, in keeping with international practice, would have to be presented with the arguments for such an extradition. Such argumentation had not been submitted so far.

Turning ironically to some western journalists who demonstrated suspiciously close inside "knowledge" that an international plot against the Pope had been organised by the communist countries, Boyan Traikov asked them where, in fact, they were get-

ting their information, since the investigation was proceeding in full secrecy, and whether it was not high time for them to rein in their unbridled fantasy, to look the truth straight into the eye and try truthfully to answer the question of who has the greatest stake in discrediting and slandering the socialist states?

The BTA General Director announced that Rossitsa Antonova had just received a letter from her husband of a very personal nature, and she conceded only a few lines to be read. The excerpts from the letter say: "I always think about Bulgaria, about my family and my friends. I do not feel alone in this moment. I am convinced of being innocently accused in an absurd frame up".

The press conference lasted for nearly four hours - another proof of our country's desire to shed complete light on the circumstances around the attempt. Winding up the press conference, the BTA General Director Boyan Traikov appealed on the professional ethics of the western journalists and pointed to the responsibility of the mass media in serving the truth and justice, and contributing to understanding, detente and cooperation between peoples. (BTA)

### Ridiculous Fabrications

Sofia SOVIA NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 pp 1

[Text]

**MOSCOW (TASS)** - In recent days absurd fabrications are circulated in a number of western states to the effect that some socialist countries were involved in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II in May 1981. The point of this campaign, full of lies from start to finish, is aimed against Bulgaria, but from time to time dark and base insinuations are made also against the Soviet Union. No attention whatsoever should be paid to such an absurdity, even more so since

the slanderers have received what they deserve. However, it is a matter of attempts to speculate with the feelings of credulous people, of believers to be more precise.

The facts show that the dirty threads of this provocation lead to those who support the repressive regimes such as those in Chile or Salvador, who patronise the Israeli aggressors and terrorists, who are accustomed to daily, manifestations of violence in their own country.

## 'Antonov Is Innocent'

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 22 Dec p 6

[Article by H. Petrov]

[Text]

Italian Radio I broadcast a programme with the participation of journalists and listeners in connection with the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul the Second on May 13th 1981, made by the Turkish terrorist Mehmed Ali Agca. More than a year and a half after the sentence passed on Agca, the Italian authorities groundlessly detained an employee of the Bulgarian Civil Airlines Balkan Agency in Rome, Sergei Ivanov Antonov, on the absurd charges of complicity with Agca. Below is an excerpt from the broadcast in which a dialogue was conducted between journalist Arrigo Levi and Antonov's lawyer prof. Giuseppe Consolo.

Prof. Consolo "As far as I am concerned and my good friend and colleague Laroussa with whom we have undertaken the legal defence of this gentleman, it may sound to some as the traditional statement of a lawyer, but in all this and all actions imputed to Antonov he is innocent and has nothing to do with them. He is innocent, indeed. Otherwise I would not have come here, at the radio, to make this speech." Professor Consolo further said that many doubts and conjectures could be expressed in this radio broadcast but no one should forget that "there is a

man in prison, who obviously has the same rights as we Italians have".

Answering a question as to why had the *court of freedom* had rejected the lawyers' request for the release of Antonov, prof. Consolo said:

"The *court of freedom* was set up in August, only recently, and it had to decide whether at the moment of issuing the warrant for arrest the relevant prerequisites existed, please note, - I say prerequisites - and not evidence, - clues sufficient to justify the preventive measure.

So the *court of freedom* has said nothing else but that such clues do exist at this stage." Levi: "Therefore the court has said that there are some clues, but it has not said that Antonov is guilty. Of course, the conversation about the *court of freedom* was distorted. Firstly because of the photo which appeared in the newspapers and on TV and which harmed the interests of my client.

Levi: A false photo...

Consolo:.. A false photo. A photo is given pride of place in the newspapers, and later, in just a couple of lines it is admitted to be false."

In reply to another question Prof. Consolo says: "Now see what I am going to tell you as an Italian, and not as council for the defence of Antonov. I

would like to have more light shed on everything they have been talking about. In my capacity of council for the defence of Antonov I would like to have my client released, we have a number of motives to ask for this, and this is not the place for us to state them.

We have evidence about May 11th, 12th and 13th (the days of 1981 in which Antonov is alleged to have been present on St Peter's Square - Editor's Note). In this respect the press turned out to be better informed than ourselves, because there is the secrecy of the investigation against us, and we as defence know very little. But while the press maintains, quoting Agca's testimony that Antonov was present on St Peter's Square, there are countless witnesses who will confirm that he was not there."

In conclusion Prof. Consolo declared: "If there is anyone you can trust at this moment, that's me. And let me also tell you this: If you have a man who has given false testimony about so many important circumstances, if you have a man who lies saying that Antonov was on St. Peter's Square on May 11, 12 and 13, you can well imagine what happens to his other evidence..."

## UN Press Release

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 p 6

[Text]

**NEW YORK, UNO (BTA)**  
- On December 20 the Permanent Representation of the PR of Bulgaria at the United Nations circulated a detailed press release expounding the

basic content of the major press conference held in Sofia on December 17 for Bulgarian and foreign journalists.

The document briefs the journalists and foreign diplomatic officials accredited

to the United Nations with the course of the press conference, as well as with the malicious insinuations and the campaign launched in the Western press about the 'Antonov case' in Rome.

## 'Absurd Accusations'

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 p 7

[Text]

In connection with allegations made public in the West about an alleged complicity of two Bulgarian nationals, **Todor Stoyanov Aivazov** and **Zhelyu Kolev Vassilev**, in the attempt on the Pope in Rome, they made statements to the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency.

"I am turning to the BTA", Todor Aivazov said, "to express publicly my amazement and indignation over the fact that I am accused of complicity in the attempt on the life of the head of the Roman Catholic Church Pope John Paul II."

"All accusations against me are absurd, preposterous and ridiculous," Todor Aivazov said.

"It is claimed that Mehmed Ali Agca, the man who shot at the Pope, had been visiting me at my home, in Rome. I do not know Mehmed Ali Agca, I have never seen him. Surely," Aivazov added, "had I been an accomplice in the plot, I would hardly have arranged my 'meetings' in a block of flats housing 24 families, including 6 Italian ones, and which, as the property of the Bulgarian Embassy, is probably closely watched."

"The Italian press claims that Agca told the investigators my home telephone number. Yet throughout my entire stay in Italy I never had a telephone at home", Todor Aivazov said.

"Commenting on the claims that he had been in St. Peter's Square when the attempt against the Pope was made (May 13, 1981), Aivazov said that at that time he had been extremely busy with his official duties and quite far from the place. "I was very busy preparing the Bulgarian cultural manifestations in Italy and, moreover throughout May 1981-I had my parents staying with me in Italy. During my spare time was showing them the sights round the country and the masterpieces of the

centuries-old Italian culture. "Would I," Aivazov asked, "have invited my mother and father to Italy at that time, if I had indeed taken part in the attempt on the Pope?"

"It is also claimed," he continued, "that on the day of the attempt I had carried a gun and hand grenades in an attache case. Since my military service - more than 18 years ago - I have never held a gun in my hands." Todor Aivazov said smiling.

"Throughout my stay in Italy," he said, "I was conscientiously performing my duties as head of the financial service of the Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. I strictly observed the Italian laws and enjoyed good and correct relations with the Italian nationals. I met or worked with. My family and I have kept wonderful impressions of the cordial and industrious Italian people."

"Despite these preposterous accusations against me, I am prepared to travel to Italy to prove my innocence, and to defend my honour and the honour of my homeland. But what guarantees do I have that I will be given the opportunity to defend myself, when my compatriot Sergei Antonov, who is completely innocent, is still in jail?"

I resolutely protest against the attempts to implicate me in the assassination, said Zhelyu Vassilev. I absolutely deny all complicity in it on my part. All accusations against me are absurd.

Western mass media allege that Mehmed Ali Agca, the man who fired at the Pope, named you as an accomplice. Do you know Agca?

I do not know him and I have never met him. I saw him on the Italian TV coverage of the assassination and the trial and only then.

*Agca is said to have confessed that a couple of days before the assassination he discussed the assassination plan with you and Aivazov in Antonov's flat.*

Antonov and Aivazov and me worked in the Bulgarian mission in Italy at one and the same time but we were not friends and I have never visited them in their flats. My contacts with them were official only.

*Do you speak Turkish?*

I do not speak Turkish at all. I am curious to know how the "discussion" took place because as far as I know, Antonov and Aivazov do not speak Turkish either. Nor do they speak English. In what language could we have communicated with Agca?

*According to some allegations you were on St. Peter's Square in Rome at the time of the assassination. According to others, you were very near Agca to help him run away after the assassination.*

On May 13, 1981, the day of the assassination, and on the days preceding and following it, I was never on the square. On the afternoon of May 13, I was in the Embassy and it can be proved by documents.

*There were reports that when you realised you might be arrested you left Italy much earlier than the expiration of your mandate.*

It is very easy to refute this if you ask the Ministry of



Foreign Affairs of Italy. I was secretary of the Bulgarian military attache in Rome from November 26, 1979 to August 27, 1982, a normal duration of a stint. My successor had to wait for his entry visa two months - from the beginning of June till end July 1982. He arrived in Rome in the beginning of August and in the course of 20 days or so I introduced him to his duties. I left Italy on

August 27, 1982 by the frontier checkpoint of Fiumicino Airport in Rome.

*Are you ready to go to Italy and refute there all the accusations against you?*

I am ready to go and defend my innocence and refute the slanders, provided I have guarantees that I can rely on law and justice.

### Invitation to Magistrate Martella

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 p 6

[Text]

The Chief Prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Prof. Kostadin Lyutov, has sent a telegram to the Minister of Justice of the Italian Republic Mr. Clelio Darida, which reads: "The Bulgarian citizen Sergei Ivanov Antonov, accused of complicity in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II, was arrested in Rome on November 25. The same accusation is also level-

ed at the Bulgarian nationals Todor Aivazov and Zhelyo Vassilev.

"The Bulgarian Telegraph Agency BTA had repeated occasions to express the protest of the Bulgarian side against these unfounded accusations.

"Prompted by the desire of the Bulgarian side to assist in establishing the truth, irrespective of the fact that no agreement on legal assistance

has been signed between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Italian Republic, with the present telegram I propose that investigating magistrate Mr. Illiario Martella visits Bulgaria. Mr. Martella will be given the opportunity of acquainting himself with the results of the investigations of the competent Bulgarian authorities, as well as to talk to the persons he is interested in. An official letter on the case is forthcoming. (BTA)

### Played With Open Cards

Sofia SOFIA NEWS in English 22 Dec 82 p 7

[Text]

**SOFIA (BTA/SN)** - The news of the major press conference at Park Hotel Moskva in connection with the absurd accusations of an alleged complicity of Bulgarian nationals in the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II, spread around the world. Many national and world news agencies reported it as the day's number one event, and it continues to be echoed in the world press.

The Soviet dailies *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* carry the TASS information which starts off with the explicit words of the chairman of the press con-

ference that the Bulgarian citizens and the People's Republic of Bulgaria have no and cannot have any part whatever in terrorist plots and actions, and he stresses that the arrest of Sergei Antonov is a political provocation in the spirit of the "crusade" against communism launched by President Reagan.

The Czechoslovak daily *Rude Pravo* emphasises it was revealed at the press conference that there is no juridical person or organisation in Bulgaria which could have instigated the attempt on the Pope. The Sofia cor-

respondent of *Neues Deutschland* stresses that Bulgaria is prepared to assist the Italian authorities in establishing the truth.

The Hungarian press also commented on the conference. The *Nepszabadsag* underlines the words of the BTA General Director that the accusations made by the Italian side are not supported by facts, and that the attempt to involve Bulgarian citizens is aimed at influencing the millions of Catholics and incite hatred of communism.

Polish Television re-screened documentary

excerpts of the attempt on the Pope in connection with the widespread anti-Bulgarian campaign, purposefully fomented these days in the West. "Bulgaria is inviting the Italian magistrate to Sofia", *Tribuna Luda* wrote last Saturday. The Italian side has not answered Polish Television noted in its commentary: Bulgaria insists on an official formulation of the charge against the official of Balkan Bulgarian Airlines Sergei Antonov, detained in Rome. There has been no response on the Italian side.

It would be difficult to call this even a press conference; the scenario was sensational, writes the *Paese sera*, dwelling on the democratism of the press conference and qualifying it as the first event of its kind in the world at which "no accusations at all were made against Italy, on the contrary, — maximum restraint was exercised". Although continuing to insist that the accusations against the Bulgarian officials had not been dropped, *Paese sera* writes: "The Bulgarians

showed themselves to be in the possession of better nerves and greater prudence than their western accusers."

In a commentary on the press conference *Corriere della sera* qualified it as a counter-attack on the Italian judicial inquiry organs, which have succumbed to anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist machinations. *Tempo* is amazed at how well informed the Bulgarian citizens are, and wonders at their benevolent attitude to the Italian journalists.

The political observer of the Turkish daily *Milliyet* stressed that journalists from all parts of the world attended the press conference, "playing the role of prosecutors". This was not a press conference, but rather an international journalistic investigation, the paper writes. The Bulgarian government played with open cards with regard to the case of the attempt on the Pope. Italian investigating magistrate Martella was even invited to come to Sofia to investigate, despite the fact that no legal agreement enforcing this exists between Bulgaria and Italy, the Turkish observer

notes. In conclusion he quotes the words of the BTA General Director that the anti-Bulgarian campaign in the western press is aimed at sabotaging detente and diverting the attention of the western public from the NATO course towards a new round in the arms race.

Under the same heading — *Bulgaria Invites Judge Martella*, the central Madrid dailies *El Pais* and *Ya* comment in detail on the press conference. According to *Ya* the press conference was a "counter-offensive aimed at proving that the accusations against Bulgaria are sheer madness on the part of the Roman magistrates".

The Athens dailies announced that Bulgaria had categorically dismissed the unfounded accusations of any Bulgarian participation in the attempt on the Pope. The *Eleftherotipiya* paper, close to government circles, notes in its commentary that "with the Antonov case, American-NATO propaganda is trying to strengthen and develop still further its line in international relations — a line from the position of the cold war."

## BULGARIA

### ZHIVKOV SPEAKS ON BASIC POINTS OF NEW LABOR CODE

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Dec 82 pp 1-6

[Basic Stipulations of the Party's Concept on the New Labor Code Formulated by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee General Secretary and Chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] Comrades:

We are about to formulate and adopt a new Labor Code. Work on the implementation of this task was undertaken a long time ago. In the course of it the need arose to develop basic starting directions and concepts, a party concept related to contemporary labor problems and labor relations in our country as a guiding principle in the formulation of the code.

In this connection I submit for discussion by the Politburo some considerations and concepts on defining the approach to be applied in the formulation of the new Labor Code, the basic problems related to controlling labor relations under the conditions of the application of the economic approach and its mechanism, the expansion of socialist democracy and labor management, the place and role of the labor collective, and the role and obligations of the socialist individual in the labor process and in the management of labor relations.

I discussed some of these problems at the recently held trade union, Fatherland Front and Komsomol congresses.

Some of them are directly related to the new Labor Code while others apply to the social environment and the atmosphere which must be developed to ensure its application.

#### I. On a Timely Long-Term Approach in the Elaboration of a New Labor Code

The current Labor Code has been serving our society for more than 30 years. It was adopted in 1951, when the party and the people were laying the foundations of socialism. We were faced with the industrialization of the country and agricultural cooperation. It was a stage of extensive economic development. The field of labor was broadening. New skills, sectors and realms of activities were appearing. Historical problems were being resolved. Unemployment inherited from capitalism was being eliminated and the full employment of all able-bodied citizens was being ensured.



A new major step was taken toward future class homogeneity in the development of the socioclass structure of the society. Essentially the cooperative farmers became equal to the working class from the socioclass viewpoint.

The forms of a socialist way of life were established in our country, based on labor. The socialist individual is the predominant type of individual in society.

Science and culture greatly advanced in their development. Their role in social progress reached such an extent that today there is no area in social life in which one can advance successfully without applying their latest accomplishments.

Qualitative changes in the area of labor itself took place. Today labor has a new social role, a new quality. From a source of subsistence, it has become the main field of realization of the essential forces of man and his qualities, capabilities and gifts.

Many other changes have taken place as well. What is essential is that we find ourselves in a qualitatively new social environment, which is precisely the reason for requiring a new Labor Code.

What basic concepts should guide us in its elaboration? What should be our approach in order to make it both contemporary and applicable to the future?

Above all, we must be guided by the principles which express the socialist nature of our society.

The working class is the main economic, political and social force in the Bulgarian People's Republic. It is the ruling class. It guides the destiny of the country and its historical objectives have become the historical objectives of the entire nation. This sacred truth must be reflected in the new Labor Code. The worker, the toiling man must be granted new rights and opportunities which will emphasize his decisive role in society. Conditions must be created to enable him to assume the new obligations and responsibilities imposed upon him by the labor process so that, through his toil, he may be able to make his life even richer, more meaningful and happier. This is the main, the essential feature.

We are a working society based on two foundations: the working man and the labor collective. Labor is needed for the production of goods. It is the source of public wealth and individual prosperity. However, it is also a decisive sector in the socialist way of life. It is a means for shaping man and his values and behavior.

The new Labor Code must clearly and unequivocally emphasize that we are a society in which the national interests, the interests of the working people, as the left-wing socialists used to say, stand above all else. This demands of every working person and citizen of socialist Bulgaria to work according to his forces for the sake of increasing the public wealth, preserving, protecting and

The Labor Code was formulated on the basis of the experience and practice of the first socialist labor legislation in the world--that of the USSR. Through it, for the first time in Bulgarian life, labor relations were regulated entirely on a socialist basis.

Time showed and proved that the Labor Code is the major accomplishment of our socialist political and legal thinking and the practice of our labor legislation, that it will retain its place in the history of the socialist building of Bulgaria and assume an honorably proper position in it.

The application, development and improvement of the Labor Code took place after the historical April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The entire theoretical and practical work in the field of labor relations, related to the improvement and implementation of the Labor Code, is a remarkable accomplishment of our party's April line--a line of relying on the constructive forces of the people and the toiling man, a line of developing the initiative and creativity of the collective and the individual, a line of Leninist respect for labor and for the working people.

For the first time in Bulgarian history the right to work stopped being merely a political slogan and became social reality, the implemented dream and hope of human generations.

Reality demanded changes in labor legislation. The Labor Code itself was amended and supplemented on 17 different occasions. More than 1,000 laws were passed to expand and enrich it further. The possibilities of following this system came to an end.

What we need now are not code improvements but a new Labor Code.

Why? Because in the course of these three decades major and profound qualitative changes took place in our society, which were reflected in the resolutions of the July 1968 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the new party program adopted at the 10th party congress, the new Bulgarian constitution, the resolutions of the December 1972 and February 1974 BCP Central Committee Plenums, the 11th and 12th party congress, other party and social meetings, the National Assembly, the State Council and the government.

Above all, our society has entered a new stage in building socialism, the stage of building a mature socialist society.

We have undertaken the laying of the material and technical foundations consistent with mature socialism. We have reached a new stage in the development of social ownership, most of which today is ownership of the whole nation and is in the hands of the state, through which the people exercise their ownership rights. The course taken toward comprehensive intensification of the national economy through the mechanization and automation of production processes and the application of the new economic approach and new economic mechanism triggered substantial changes in labor relations.

increasing public property and implementing his specific labor responsibilities based on the planned assignments of labor collectives and settlements.

At the same time, the new Labor Code must emphasize the humane duty of society, the state and its units toward all working people and every Bulgarian citizen. Every person in our country must be guaranteed a job by the code; that he will receive equal wages for equal labor, wages based on the quantity and quality of the labor he has invested; that his labor contribution will ensure him a better living standard; that he will have real opportunities to upgrade his education and skills; that he will work under steadily improving labor conditions, and so on. What has been manifested through labor should determine the position and social status of the individual.

The new code must develop socialist labor democracy further. To us political democracy has any value only if it broadens opportunities for socio-labor and individual activeness of the people at work and in production management; only if it offers a scope for the activities of labor collectives and their members in favor of the public good and for the better solution of collective and personal problems. In other words, the problem is to create the type of conditions and organization and to apply the type of approach through the new Labor Code through which the millions of working people in our country--the working class, the agricultural workers and our intelligentsia--become directly interested and involved in managing the economy and the social and cultural processes in building socialism. This, comrades, as V. I. Lenin has frequently emphasized, is because socialism is not built on the basis of ukases issued from above. It can be the exclusive accomplishment of the popular masses guided by the communist party, the accomplishment of their dedicated toil and their social and political creativity.

Secondly, we must be guided by the specific requirements of the stage of building a developed socialist society in which we currently are.

Not only the humane concern for the worker, for the working person, but, in accordance with the new social targets and assignments, concern for his comprehensive development and realization, for enhancing the role of labor in his shaping as a comprehensive and harmoniously developed individual, must hold a basic position in the new Labor Code.

The new labor legislation must encourage man to work, particularly in becoming creative in the labor process. It must contribute to increasing the attachment to the workbench and the labor collective. It must encourage higher organization and discipline. It must trigger a feeling of happiness from labor and confidence in its decisive role in the success of the individual, the collective and society.

It will be necessary to find a specific solution to one of the basic problems of our time, the problem of the progress of man at his job, as formulated in the resolutions of the 12th party congress. Every citizen must advance in his life, must progress, must rise. This calls for new ways and means of acknowledging the advancement of a person in his labor, his skill, his profession, and so on.

It would be expedient for the Labor Code to reflect also the process of intellectualization of labor, a process which is particularly important and promising in terms of developed socialism. It would be no exaggeration to say that this process would resolve many of the main problems of socialism. In the new Labor Code we must define the ways and means which will guarantee the deserved priority granted anyone who creates the achievements of science and culture on a contemporary worldwide standard, and anyone who applies them in his work.

Thirdly, we must be guided by the characteristics of our social reality, the specifically Bulgarian problems, contradictions and opportunities existing at the present stage.

As we know, socialism, including that of the developed socialist society, is based on general laws, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. In each individual country, however, this process has its sociohistorical specifics and characteristics. Such is the case in our country as well and we must bear this in mind as we draft the new Labor Code.

Let us consider the contradiction which has developed in our country between the material base, which is impressive in terms of the scale of a small country, and its inefficient utilization by the subjective factor. It is clear that the Labor Code will have to make its contribution to the solution of this contradiction by determining specific ways and means to be followed in this direction. This applies to other contradictions as well, to vicious circles in our reality which I mentioned last year at the October conference and the university student celebration. The Labor Code must be one of the most powerful instruments in the hands of the party, the state and the entire public in the work and efforts to surmount arising social contradictions, breaking vicious circles and accelerating our socialist social development.

Our country cannot complain of a historical destiny which has given it a land beautiful and rich in remarkable natural features. However, we were deprived of natural resources which could be industrially utilized with little processing. On the other hand, the demographic processes are developing in such a way that it is clear that for a long time to come we will not be able to rely on a population increase as a major factor in the development of public production.

Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people can become richer only if our work is increased and becomes more fruitful. The fullest possible utilization of the nation's labor potential is today a task of strategic significance facing us. This is the new and main feature in the approach to labor management, the organization of labor and incentive and the legal settlement of the most important problems involving the participation of man in the labor process. Unless we resolve this problem on time, our progress will be delayed and we shall miss the great historical chance as a society and a party, for the strongest weapon on which the socialist society can rely in his historical competition with capitalism is labor--the increasingly all-embracing, more productive and more humane labor. That is why the more we advance toward communism the more labor oriented will become our society and the more will

increase the labor efforts and contributions of every citizen to social labor, and the more richly will this labor be rewarded. Clearly, the Labor Code will have to take this into consideration.

In the fourth place, we must be guided by the lessons and accomplishments in controlling labor relations in others countries and nations, above all the rich experience of the Soviet Union, an experience of leading significance to us. It would be expedient to seek and make a comparison regarding each basic problem of the new Labor Code between it and international practice and its accomplishments, to be used in accordance with the specific and characteristic nature of our reality, also bearing in mind the international obligations assumed by our country.

Allow me expressly to emphasize that the new Labor Code must be both stable and flexible. This means that it must be categorical in defining the basic rights and obligations of the working man, in defending the public interest, and in eliminating the possibility of interpreting and applying it equivocally. At the same time, it must offer the opportunity of experimenting and applying new ways and means for the implementation of these rights and interests.

The problems of the legal regulation of labor relations must be resolved in its entirety and interconnection and interrelationship, making use of the systemic, the comprehensive approach.

The new Labor Code must regulate the labor-legal relations of all working people, including those employed in the cooperative organizations. It must also contain stipulations pertaining to labor activities and obligations in the private plots, whenever their implementation is related to specific relations with the public sector.

Allow me expressly to point out that the Labor Code is not a law of interest to lawyers only. Its purpose is to serve most directly the millions of workers and employees regardless of their level of education and culture. That is why it must be extremely clear, maximally accessible and understood by all. The rank and file worker and employee must be able to find their way in it by themselves and to find their own answers to questions of interest to them. We must develop the type of internal code structure which would enable young people or women, for example, immediately to find the rules related to their labor; all regulations on upgrading skills should perhaps be put together, and so on. Clarity, accuracy and intelligibility should distinguish each single stipulation of the new code, its entire content.

The adoption of a new Labor Code is of tremendous socioeconomic, political and educational significance.

On the one hand, through the code we must strengthen and develop socialist labor relations. We must develop their profound and truly democratic nature and broaden the real boundaries of the rights of man; on the other, we must contribute to the solution of the new and as yet unresolved problems in the field of labor and labor relations at the new stage reached currently by our country.

As we know, the Labor Code is the fundamental law of labor. It is the labor constitution.

This is a question of a constitution of socialist labor on the stage of building a developed socialist society. The Labor Code must not only reflect the radical changes which have taken place in labor reality in our country but to contribute to the assertion of the latest and most progressive ideas in the field of labor legislation. It must be a factor of social influence and in meeting the needs and interests of the working people. It must play an active role in their political and ideological upbringing and moral development. It must serve the further efficient building of developed socialism.

On the other hand, the new Labor Code must juridically express phenomena and processes universal in terms of their nature and significance.

We are referring here to phenomena and processes affecting the entire system, all elements and features of social labor--labor activities and labor relations, labor organization and conditions, labor incentive, etc.

At the same time, we are also considering changes in the most important element of the labor process--the producing man--with his requirements and interests, training and activeness. These are problems which affect the destinies of millions of people in our country--both those who are now actively working as well as the generations which will become fully involved in social labor in the years to come. They directly affect the strategic objectives of our party and society--the increasingly better satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the working people, and the comprehensive development and realization of the individual.

For all of these reasons we must display a new approach to the very procedure to be followed in the elaboration of the new Labor Code. It must be democratic from beginning to end. Throughout the entire project we must hear the voice, the decisive voice of the worker, of the toiling man. That is why it would be proper, as I already mentioned at the trade union congress, to organize a broad discussion of the basic concepts on which the new Labor Code will be built and, subsequently, of the draft Labor Code itself.

The most essential, the most important feature is for the new Labor Code to be oriented toward the April line in terms of content and spirit. It must be an example of the creative application of the April party line in the field of labor and labor relations. This is a line entirely directed toward the prompt satisfaction of the needs of society and the individual in the course of the labor process.

Such should be the approach and the methodology which should guide us. This is our own Marxist-Leninist methodology, tested and tried through practical experience.



## II. For Decisive Progress in Improving the Material and Technical Conditions of the Labor Process and Enhancing the Quality of Labor

The material and technical conditions under which the labor process develops are of exceptional importance. A material-technical base for labor on the level of contemporary scientific and technical progress has been created in a number of economic sectors. Today mechanized, machine labor is providing a decisive contribution to the development of our economy. The technical labor facilities have improved. Between 1971 and 1981 the capital-labor ratio more than doubled in industry and more than tripled in construction. In 1981 productive capital averaged 18,205 leva per person in industry, compared with 7,946 leva in 1970; corresponding figures for construction are 5,781 leva and 1,707 leva. The level of mechanization and automation of basic operations in industry and construction was enhanced.

The number of working people engaged in mechanized work is increasing steadily. In 1980 28.9 percent of the workers in industry used automated machines and machine units and the help of machines and mechanisms, compared with 22.8 percent in 1965. A considerable percentage of workers are engaged in mechanized work in the basic structure-determining industrial sectors.

Along with the application of new and more productive automated production lines, machine units and mechanisms, the number of workers engaged in tuning, maintaining and repairing the equipment is increasing in absolute and relative terms. The trend toward the absolute and relative increase of this group of workers will continue in connection with the further application of comprehensive production mechanization and automation.

We are pursuing a consistent policy of giving priority to the development of the material and technical base in industrial sectors and production facilities which are the carriers of scientific and technical progress or the base of our participation in the global division of labor and socialist economic integration--essentially in modern machine building, electronics, instrument making, robotics, industrial microbiology, deep chemical processing, nuclear power industry, etc. Consequently, the output in decisive industrial sectors such as machine building, electronics, the power industry, ferrous metallurgy, and the chemical and rubber industries accounted for nearly 48 percent of industrial output in 1980 compared with under 37 percent in 1971.

At the same time, the need for intellectualizing the work is knocking at our door. The intellectualization of public production is an objective process. Human knowledge and skills have been and will remain necessary in production work at all stages in social development. Currently the development of "thinking machines," of automatic machines which can act independently, as instructed by man, and to "think" about a specific problem far more quickly and better than any person, opens new horizons. The progress achieved by the socialist society will be increasingly determined by the ability to develop new opportunities for automated production and to create new automatic machines which will replace man in production activities, themselves designing new machines and new technologies.

Production intellectualization calls for the intellectualization of labor. Labor converted into a creative process means intellectualized labor regardless of whether or not the creative result is that of science and art or the product of material production. Such labor alone can be the motor which will resolve the major problem of production quality.

Against the background of such changes and requirements we cannot be satisfied with the pace and scale at which material-technical and technological labor conditions are changing. Entire enterprises and realms of activity are continuing to work with already amortized equipment, decades old, in which manual operations predominate and the work is routine, monotonous and meaningless. Despite measures to limit manual labor successes achieved in this respect have been unsatisfactory. To this day 49 percent of the workers in industry are engaged exclusively in manual operations.

What does it mean that currently 38 percent of the workers in industry are working under conditions violating admissible norms? Could the socialist society tolerate this condition? What is the result of the implementation of the programs for labor protection and safety in which such large funds have been invested?

We must bear in mind that in the future the role of the material and technical labor conditions will increase even further as a factor in shaping the attitudes toward labor. Studies have indicated that it is precisely in this area that the needs and requirements of the working people, the young generations in particular, are substantially outstripping reality. In no case should we allow the intensification of this contradiction.

We must organize a real approach within the enterprises leading to the type of renovation of equipment and technology which would radically change the foundations of the labor content and conditions. Such technological solutions exist. However, they are finding their way to our enterprises rather slowly.

The quality of labor changes along with changes in material and technical conditions.

The material and technical base we are developing currently increases the share of the workers engaged in intellectual labor. The mental activities of workers engaged in physical work is increasing and so are the creative elements in the labor process. Today fruitful and efficient work requires modern knowledge, the skill to handle complex equipment and technology, high level organization and discipline, readiness to accept responsibility and reasonable risk, and ability to look for new ideas, solutions and work methods.

It is from such positions that we must assess many aspects and elements of the current condition in labor activities.

The first question I raise is that of the mental potential of the nation, so to say, of the "gray matter." Do we have it in the necessary amount and, to the extent to which we have it, are we using it efficiently?



We know that in this respect today the educational system plays the main and decisive role. We have achieved successes which are well known. By the end of 1981 the national economy was employing nearly 290,000 specialists with higher and 617,000 specialists with semi-high and secondary specialized training. today we have 197 specialists per 1,000 employed individuals, 63 of whom are with higher and 134 with semihigher and specialized training. However, bearing in mind the requirements we mention, we cannot be satisfied with the actual situation of the educational training of the working people or the efficiency of the cadres trained by the educational system. In our industry 66.8 percent of the workers have no secondary training and more than 40 percent of the young workers and employees under 30 have no secondary education training. This indicates that the problems of educational training will not be resolved only naturally, with the attrition of the older generations. This requires specific and practical work as of now.

The problem of the use of specialists as well has not been resolved properly. The fact is that a large number of specialists with higher, semihigher and secondary specialized training are not working in their skill learned at school. Thus, on 1 November 1981 79,000 of them were not working in their specialized fields: 41,857 engineering and technical cadres, 16,840 agricultural specialists, 8,111 economists, 7,629 education specialists, etc. Another concerning feature is that 12,204 specialists with higher training are not working in their field. They include 4,418 engineers, 2,064 economists, 2,437 teachers and 1,157 agronomists, zootechnicians and veterinarians.

Meanwhile, a number of positions in the national economy which require higher training, are held by people with lower training.

Improvements are needed also in the procedure for appointing the young specialists. The contractual nature of relations which arise in this connection must be defined more clearly. Today, should the young specialist refuse to accept the position to which he has been appointed he must refund to the state the cost of his training. In practice there have been a number of cases in which an economic organization or establishment would unnecessarily submit a request for specialists. This increases the enrollment of students, after which, "naturally" the graduated young specialists are not given jobs. The results is that the request was formulated merely in order to ensure that the child of "one of our own" can be enrolled in an institution. In such cases the corresponding organization should refund to the state the cost of his training. This will introduce more order and responsibility in formulating the need for young specialists.

Nor could we be satisfied with the condition of the training. Highly skilled workers in our country total 21.7 percent although they should exceed approximately more than 50 percent. The solution of this problem as well tolerates no delay. The rapid elimination of the lag in skills must force us to focus our attention on the creation of a skilled reserve and, on an even broader basis, an intellectual, a creative reserve. In itself, such a reserve of a nation is a powerful wealth and a powerful production booster.

Secondly, changes in the material and technical base and the new quality of labor demand a new organization of the labor process in the spirit of the stipulations of the 1978 national party conference. Unity among the three labor elements must be reached: labor, labor tools and labor objects. We must increasingly encourage collective forms of labor organization, paying special attention to their economic and social efficiency. Our labor legislation must be such as to provide the necessary legal foundation for the further development of the socialist organization of labor.

Thirdly, we must achieve a decisive change in the very attitude toward working time. Today it is not valued properly and is being irresponsibly wasted.

It is mainly as a result of violations of labor, contractual and technological discipline that unjustified working time losses continue to exist. In 1981 such reasons led to the loss of 571,000 man/hours in industry and construction as a result of full day idling; of nearly 958,000 man/days caused by absenteeism, and 3,271,000 man/days as a result of official leave of absence. Substantial losses of working time exist within the working shifts as well. There have been nearly 11 percent recorded intra-shift idling in industry and 14 percent in the regulated working time in construction. In practice such losses are substantially higher, for it is the tendency of the enterprises not to report the full figures. Working time losses in industry and construction, caused by full day or intra-shift idling, absenteeism and leave by permission of the administration equal approximately the year-round labor of about 150,000 workers. It is as though the workers in the chemical and rubber industries, ferrous metallurgy, the fuel industry and the production of electric and thermal energy jointly have not worked a full year. Yet they account for nearly 20 percent of the country's industrial output. What is this if not a shame!

The new Labor Code must be a strong factor in achieving a decisive progress in labor material and technical conditions. It must demand and guarantee that the highest technological achievements in the world to be mass practice in our country.

The new code must encourage the labor of those who are better educated and more highly skilled, the better organized and more disciplined workers. It must stipulate efficient measures to combat negligence in labor and labor relations.

### III. The New Labor Code and Consistent Consideration of International and Domestic Economic Conditions

The existing changes which have taken place in international economic relations, ownership relations, labor and labor relations and the requirements of the new economic approach and its mechanism must be totally and consistently taken into consideration in the formulation of the new Labor Code.

Let me consider some of these problems.

The first applies to our status in international relations. The increased power of our economy enables us efficiently to participate in the international division of labor. The volume of our foreign trade is rising

steadily. In 1981 it exceeded 19.8 billion foreign exchange leva with a national income of 21.9 billion. According to the economists a national economy could be considered open if the ratio between foreign trade and national income is at least 25:100; in our country it has already reached 90:100. Consequently, our economy is highly opened. This enables us and, on the other hand, demands of us to be in step with the contemporary development of production and scientific and technical progress, to develop highly efficient production capacities and steadily to upgrade the quality of output. This economic condition assigns to us the general task of reaching highly efficient production matching global standards and competitiveness abroad, which would not drain the national income.

Today socialist economic integration is entering a new stage. On the one hand, the approximately equalized production possibilities of the socialist countries and the satisfaction of the basic requirements demand the production of exclusively high quality goods; on the other, they require the most efficient production from the viewpoint of the entire socialist comity. We must be aware of the fact that we can be successful on the socialist market only by producing high quality goods on the level of the state of the art of science and technology.

As to the capitalist market, we should no longer allow losses in our relations with it, observed by the state, for this entails a loss to the entire society. Today every labor collective must feel how and the extent to which its work is appreciated abroad.

Production specialization and cooperation with foreign producers is a particularly promising form of foreign economic cooperation and socialist integration. This would establish direct contacts with working people and labor collectives in different countries and would demand the impeccable implementation of assumed obligations.

The introduction of an international measure to determine the results of our work and linking our work more closely with that of producers in other countries radically change requirements related to the internal organization of labor and all factors which determine the enhancement of the efficiency of the overall production process. The new Labor Code cannot fail to take this into consideration.

The second problem is related to labor relations based on socialist nationwide ownership of productive capital in distinguishing the functions between the owner and the manager in the reproduction process. As we know, this distinction means the creation of new conditions for developing the initiative of labor collectives which thus acquire extensive opportunities for influencing the shaping and implementation of economic policy and production and labor activeness.

The labor collective is the manager of socialist property. It has been given the right to manage it on the basis of the state and counterplans. It formulates and adopts the counterplan and must resolve an increasing number of

problems related to labor life and labor relations. The new Labor Code must decisively contribute to the efficient implementation of such basic functions facing the labor collective.

The third problem is related to the functioning of the economy and the other areas of the national economy under the conditions of a fuller use of commodity-monetary relations, the law of value and related economic levers. This is an objective need proved by Lenin himself. As I emphasized at the trade union congress, commodity-monetary relations and the law of value must be a powerful incentive in increasing the public wealth and enhancing the living standards of the people. They must be our ally in the struggle for improving economic management. We must be guided by the stipulations of the 12th BCP Congress to the effect that all economic and social activities must be based on cost effectiveness. The interrelationship among economic organizations, enterprises and labor collectives and between them and the individual working people must rest on an economic foundation with its respective rights, obligations and responsibilities.

Wages must be based on the quantity and quality of individual labor contributions. Everyone must determine his own wage through his work.

As to losses and damages in economic activities, they must be pursued to the end, to the direct culprits.

It is obvious that today we must undertake the solution of these problems from their other side as well--not through administrative measures but through the creation of adequate economic conditions and prerequisites for their solution on an economic basis in the interest of the individual, the collective and society. The new code must regulate the settling of these problems.

The economic organizations must experience the economic pressure of building enterprises wherever unused manpower reserves exist. The people's councils must be given the right to prevent the construction on their territory or the undertaking of production and other activities which substantially disturb the manpower balance. We need an efficient system of levers in guiding manpower resources in accordance with national economic interests and the desire of the individual to prove himself in labor without artificial administrative restrictions. Yet we still have archaic regulations and we are trying through administrative measures to ensure manpower for work in remote areas under poor living and working conditions, and so on.

We are trying through administrative measures to prevent the workers from leaving their enterprises. Despite this, the number of those who leave has not declined. In 1981 28.8 percent of the workers changed positions in industry, 35.1 percent in construction and 20.9 percent in transportation; in some enterprises and organizations the figure was considerably higher, reaching 50 to 60 percent. About 32,000 workers in industry, construction and transportation resigned.

In order to eliminate the uncontrolled manpower turnover, we must apply economic ways and means against those who groundlessly and frequently arbitrarily change the labor organization, thus harming society at large. At the

same time, the enterprise's leadership must have the right, without unnecessary complications or artificial hindrances, to get rid of poor and unconscientious workers and specialists. It is not fair for clumsy, lazy and undisciplined workers to harm the labor collective and the entire national economy. We must no longer tolerate such phenomena.

The main way to reduce turnover, however, is to improve production and social labor conditions. Particularly important in this respect are the social incentive methods--housing, placing children in children's institutions, granting facilities related to transportation, recreation and others, and providing special care for the professional and skilled growth of the workers, for the faster involvement of newly hired workers with the labor collective and their adapting to the characteristics of the labor process.

Under the conditions of the consistent application of the economic approach and its mechanism, production reconstruction and modernization, improved labor organization and others, some enterprises will face the need to release workers and employees. However, we cannot consider them unnecessary and leave them to their own devices or grant them aid as charity. Such specialists and workers are needed. They are part of our labor social potential and aktiv and we must do everything possible to ensure the timely use of their experience and knowledge elsewhere, without harming their individual interests. Technical progress and contemporary economic reality face us with a problem new to socialism and our employment system, a problem which we must resolve most efficiently without any loss to society or violation of the interests of the individual worker. This must be a true socialist solution and the new Labor Code must include guarantees for its implementation.

The fourth problem applies to the role of the service industry in our society.

To an increasing extent production activities and their results depend on the activities of other social areas--science, education, health care, culture, physical culture, sports, tourism and others. Such activities are becoming increasingly important in terms of improving the personal element of the production forces. High professional skills and specialized knowledge and extensive general culture, which are the result of the activities of the service area, remain a mandatory condition for a more productive labor on the part of an increasing share of the working people.

We have properly developed a cult of productive toil. Our labor heroes were and will remain those who work above all in material production, particularly in its most important and difficult sectors. However, what does production labor mean? Considered from the viewpoint of political economy, it is unquestionably the type of labor which creates material goods. It creates the values which we distribute and redistribute within the entire national economy for consumption and accumulation purposes.

However, we must look at labor from another equally Marxist viewpoint. We must consider it from the positions of its social functions, as a means for the satisfaction of human needs. Labor, Marx says, may be necessary without being

productive. The main thing is whether or not this type of work leads to the production of material and spiritual goods which satisfy the vitally important needs of society. We must show respect for such labor, regardless of the area in which it is applied.

For this reason we must enhance the prestige of labor in the service industry. We must increase the requirements facing the productivity and efficiency of such labor and stipulate measures for the proper evaluation of contributions made in this realm of our society. We cannot allow to lag in the realm of social services so greatly behind the needs of the population or contemporary standards. We must seriously restructure the work of people engaged in material production and services. The trend in the immediate future is for manpower employed in services to increase considerably. It may become necessary, within the framework of the conurbation systems, to convert to self-servicing. Every citizen has or could master some types of activity in services. In his leisure time he could provide services to his fellow citizens against payment. However, this must be regulated and encouraged by the new code. The restrictions which hinder the application of socially useful toil by anyone who wishes to apply it in accordance with his possibilities must be eliminated.

From the viewpoint of economic necessity and expediency we must also consider the possibility of voluntary overtime.

In a number of sectors we are still experiencing manpower shortages. Furthermore, we have a developed material base which cannot be fully used with available manpower resources. However, the country has 1,512,307 pensioners: 131,644 women between the ages of 55 and 60, and 691,266 men and women in the age between 60 and 70, a high percentage of whom can and would like to continue to work. Let us not forget that these are labor veterans with rich experience and knowledge who could contribute their work in many production sectors providing that the necessary conditions, a suitable labor organization and suitable working time are made available.

This question was raised at the 12th congress and a party position regarding its solution was drafted. However, no serious practical results have been achieved yet. Let us hope that the creation of labor bureaus for pensioners in the service industry, which I mentioned at the Fatherland Front congress, will be a decisive organizational step ahead in this direction.

Let us also bear in mind the broadening of the realm of the application of labor in the private auxiliary plots. We already have several years' worth of experience in this respect, which has yielded positive results. In 1981 the private plots accounted for 27.3 percent of the agricultural output, 51.3 percent of the potatoes, 50.8 percent of the melon crops, 39.8 percent of the meat in slaughtered weight, 45.3 percent of the ewes' milk, 55.7 percent of the eggs, and so on. This considerable output was achieved as a result of the efforts of the working people during nonworking time and the work of the free personnel in the economic organizations. Naturally, these results are due to the decisive help given by the public farms which supply the private plots with materials, preparations, equipment and others. This is an impressive example



of the reserves at the disposal of our socialist economy and society. Such reserves must continue to be identified and used in the future.

It is particularly important to create conditions for additional work during their leisure time on the part of employed individuals, mainly workers with technical skills. The need for further expanding this practice was indicated at the 12th party congress. No precise data exist on the percentage of individuals engaged in such activities. It is clear, however, that we are merely at the beginning of this project. It is time for the combination of skills not to be applied mainly in the case of scientific workers but to enable people employed in material production, services above all, as a factor contributing to the more efficient utilization of the nation's labor potential in satisfying population requirements.

Let us not forget something else as well: additional labor is also a means for the more efficient use of the leisure time. On other occasions as well we have emphasized that we respect the right of the individual to determine himself how to spend his leisure time. However, bearing in mind the current situation, using material incentives, we could control processes in this area without direct interference. Is it not more profitable to the individual and society for the people to use some of their leisure time in sensible socioeconomic effective work, to increase their income and to improve the economic situation of their families. The new Labor Code should make its contribution to the solution of such problems.

At the same time, we must attentively consider all the consequences of the decisions we make and prevent some negative phenomena. Thus, for example, the extensive involvement of pensioners in public labor may hinder young specialists in finding jobs. Such difficulties exist today as well: about 25 percent of the young specialists who graduated in 1981 were not assigned jobs by their respective schools.

Let us take another example--overtime. It would be improper to ignore the possible adverse consequences to the health and work capability of the people if several more hours are spent in work after an 8½-hour workday. International conventions exist in this area, which we have ratified and must observe.

On the other hand, it would be quite ineffective if overtime is applied at the expense of the regular work time or if this time is not used at full capacity. What is the benefit to society if a worker or specialist makes use of no more than 50-60 percent of his work time in order to preserve his strength for overtime?

These examples are sufficient to realize that these are complex and conflicting problems. We must not hope that they will be resolved in 1 or 2 months. However, the way of increasing overtime as a means of increasing and most fully using the labor potential of the nation is proper and the new Labor Code should help us to cover it in the immediate future.

What we need is the systematic and overall solution of all problems--economic, social, labor-legal, etc.--to assert the definitive right of the working people to invest additional work in the production of foodstuffs and other goods in short supply and in demand, as well as in providing services to the population. Such work, using a variety of systems as applicable to the different population strata must be allowed legislatively.

#### IV. On the Further Development and Improvement of Socialist Democracy in the Areas of Labor and Labor Relations

As we know, the stipulations and resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress marked another major step forward in the development of the April line in the field of political relations, the political system and socialist democracy. The main theoretical and practical problem which was formulated by the congress was and remains the development and broadening of the rights of the working man and the primary collectives. Under the current specific historical circumstances this is the path leading to the further unification of the popular masses around the cause and policy of the party and their even more active involvement in organizational-political activities, the advancement of labor relations and the enhancement of their role in the labor process.

Socialist democracy in the field of labor must be manifested in expanding the rights of the labor collective so that it may increasingly become a self-managing unit. It must manage the property and increase and develop it in the interest of the state and its own. It must take a stand on problems of production development and marketing, adopt and ratify engagements related to social planning and counterplans and in controlling the activities of its members and the distribution of their income.

With the new economic approach we are laying a reliable economic foundation to the solution of this problem. The new Labor Code must become a manifestation of the drastic enhancement of the level of socialist democracy in labor and the participation of the individual working person in the life of his labor collective and of the organization at large. What is necessary in this respect?

First. We must now formulate on a far broader basis the question of the rights, possibilities and responsibilities of man at work. Substantial changes are necessary in terms of the possibility and the right of the worker and employee to be informed regarding the economic and social policy of the organization which employ them. Under the conditions of the new economic approach this becomes an urgent economic need. The individual working person is not isolated in his work. His wages depend not only on his individual labor but on the results of the brigade and labor collective. The results of the collective depend on the efficiency of the guiding activities of ministries, people's councils and economic organizations. Under such circumstances he cannot fail to be interested in what is taking place in the collective, enterprise, department, and so on. Only thus can he efficiently participate in activities and management. This is of political significance as well, for it is only exhaustive information and criticism, self-criticism and social activeness based on it that make it possible to achieve a truly democratic management style and to prevent the conversion of one management or another into a politically despotic



monopoly. Only this eliminates the danger of crises and deformations within socialism.

Particular attention should be paid in this respect to the right of the worker, the toiling man, to criticize. This right is of basic importance in socialism. It is one of the foundations of our democracy, of our humanism. At the same time, criticism is a powerful factor in eliminating the weaknesses and shortcomings in our work and way of life. The new Labor Code must guarantee every worker, every working person the fact that his honest and well-wishing and constructive criticism of weaknesses and shortcomings of any leading organ or individual will be heard and respected and will not be followed by revenge of any kind.

Managers must motivate their decisions affecting labor collectives so that such decisions may obtain social recognition and support. This particularly applies to plans, decisions, wages, transfers, awards, aid, leaves, and so on. The life of collectives, enterprises and economic organizations must be clear and open in order to block erroneous decisions, abuses or inflated figures.

Every worker and employee has the right to know the content of his official file. His signature and opinion on evaluations pertaining to him must be affixed on that document.

Direct democracy, the active involvement of the working people in resolving basic management problems, must be applied far more extensively in the work of the enterprise or economic organization.

Criticism, self-criticism and the struggle with shortcomings are among the most important obligations of the socialist working person. He must develop within himself socialist labor virtues. Labor discipline is particularly important in this respect. The expansion of socialist democracy in labor must not take place at the expense of labor discipline. Conversely, it would be expedient to increase the penalties imposed on those who consciously violate labor discipline. The system of measures for economic influence on those who violate labor discipline must be clear and well known by the collective. We must review the existing penalties with a view to upgrading their efficiency with the help of the new Labor Code.

Second. On applying the state-social principle in the realm of organization and management of labor relations.

Our party and state have gained considerable experience in this respect. The theory and practice of the socio-state principle in cultural management yielded rich results and deservedly enjoy international recognition. The application of the state-social principle in public education is yielding its initial achievements which promise it a good future. We have gained similar experience in other areas of social life as well.

What matters most is that the socio-state and state-social principle, wherever applied, has broadened socialist democracy and enriched the rights and opportunities of the working people, the citizens and their organizations to

display initiative, to have their say and to participate in the solution of management problems.

Unquestionably, this experience of ours must be creatively applied in the realm of labor and labor relations.

The new Labor Code must stipulate opportunities for the establishment of state-social organs to deal with labor problems on different management levels. Such organs must emphasize the role of the trade unions as a whole and by sector. Without losing their social aspect, they must exert their influence when policy is shaped in the labor area and guarantee the observance of socialist principles in its application.

The Komsomol must play a major role and have great influence in the state-social organs dealing with labor problems. The Committee for the Movement of Bulgarian Women and the health care organs must deal with problems related to labor hygiene and health; public education must deal with problems of work at school and skill training; the creative associations must deal with problems of labor esthetics, and so on.

The main feature in the activities of such organs will be found in the style and spirit of the April party line related to labor problems and labor relations which must be resolved with the most active participation of all interested institutions and the working people themselves.

This is, so to say, the social level of the problems related to the development of labor conditions and the application of the contemporary economic approach and mechanism and the development of socialist democracy in the area of labor and labor relations. I shall deal further with some more specific aspects. The problems of broadening socialist democracy in labor and labor relations I have raised here are of a more general and basic nature. At this point I would like to reemphasize the fact that our society is experiencing a process of comprehensive politization and that the main and basic features of this process entail the increasingly broader involvement of the working people in social management. The historical destinies of socialism, including our own experience, prove that the higher the political awareness of the working people rises and the more extensively and competently they participate in the solution of social problems the stronger the socialist system becomes and the less it is threatened by upheavals and crises.

#### V. For a Qualitatively New Role of the Labor Collective in Socialist Labor Relations

The 12th party congress asserted the basic postulate that the labor collective in our country in the manager of socialist property. This stipulation must be concretized in the new Labor Code and given legal power.

Let me point out that in the current Labor Code the labor collective is not mentioned at all. The new Labor Code must ensure the necessary conditions for the labor collective to carry out its functions of manager of the socialist

property assigned to it and strengthen its rights, obligations and responsibilities so that it could fully prove itself. Since these are new and largely undeveloped problems of very great importance, I deem it necessary to discuss some of them in greater detail.

Obviously, the labor collective is above all a community of people engaged in carrying out common assignments, interacting in the course of the labor process. They are related by common objectives based on joint labor, labor results and wages, and interrelationships in the course of the labor process.

In our society the labor collective cannot exist outside a specific socialist organization--economic or noneconomic--or its subunit--brigade, section, shop, enterprise, etc.. The labor collective is the main social content of this organization. On the other hand, the labor collective in a socialist organization is not only a social formation engaged in purely performing or production-economic activity. As represented by the general meeting or the meeting of representatives, it is an organ of the organization. It is thus that the will of the labor collective becomes the will of the organization itself. Through its decisions the labor collective imposes obligations on the socialist organization. This stipulation is a distinguishing feature of our labor collectives. It has been gradually established legislatively and is being increasingly applied in practice.

All of this does not mean that the legal documents should make no distinction between the rights and obligations of the socialist organization and those of its labor collective. The rights and obligations of the socialist organization are fully regulated by the laws and, naturally, apply to the labor collective as well. In addition to them, the labor collective has rights and obligations which proceed from sociopolitical relations, moral norms, and concern for the life of every member of the collective. Such rights and obligations are richer and of greater social significance. However, they are also more difficult in terms of legal regulation. The new Labor Code must surmount such difficulties by finding ways to regulate the basic rights, obligations and responsibilities of labor collectives to society, to their own organization and to the individual members of the collective.

At the same time, the following question arises: what labor collectives should be regulated by the Labor Code? This question is of direct importance in terms of the means of their participation in the management of economic activities and labor.

We know that each socialist organization has its specific internal organizational structure. Furthermore, there are associations of economic organizations. In the final account, the entire working people is an organic social community. I think that we must come closer to reality rather than be the slaves of abstract concepts.

Unquestionably, above all the Labor Code must regulate the rights and obligations of the primary labor collective, i.e., the collective in which the people spend jointly their working day and in which they are in direct contact--the brigade, section, service, and so on. Every working person is most familiar

with the problems of this collective and can most profitably participate in decision-making related to its activities. It is precisely here that direct democracy must be displayed in full. The general meeting of workers and employees is the supreme collective organ of the primary collective. This applies to the brigade meeting which elects the brigade council and brigade leader. Following the election the brigade leader must be appointed by the head of the organization. The brigade council acts as an operative organ in carrying out the decisions of the brigade meeting and periodically reports to it.

The same rights and obligations must be given to the collectives of sections, services and other primary units in enterprises and establishments.

Secondly, the Labor Code must deal with the labor collective of the next larger organizational unit--the subunit or enterprise with territorial integrity and permanent social contacts among its members. This is the basic labor collective whose greater economic autonomy as an organizational unit is combined with the direct participation of workers and employees in management. On an exceptional basis, if no conditions for holding general meetings exist as a result of the large membership, we must resort to the system of representative democracy.

The socialist organization as a whole must be the third object of the Labor Code. Its main social contact is based on the sum total of primary and basic collectives. Because of its large membership and, in a number of cases, the territorial distance among the individual collectives, the system of representative democracy cannot be used in its management. In such cases the primary and the basic labor collectives elect their representatives who, as representatives of the workers and employees, discuss and resolve all most important problems of common interest to the entire collective. The meeting of representatives must elect an economic council accountable to it and working under its control. It is important for the code expressly to indicate that the elected representatives of labor collectives express within the collective management organs not their own views (this could be merely taken into consideration) but the views of those they represent. This demands of the labor collectives to be fully informed of the views expressed by their representatives and the decisions of superior collective organs. They must have the right to recall their representatives who do not efficiently express the views and interests of those whom they represent. We must bear in mind that representative democracy expands direct democracy in the management of the labor collective but does not replace it.

The new Labor Code must resolve several basic groups of problems related to the rights and obligations of labor collectives.

Allow me to express certain considerations in this connection.

The first group of problems applies to the relationship between the manager and the labor collective. As we know, the management of the socialist organization is based on the principle of democratic centralism and the combination of one-man command and collective leadership. While bearing in mind that the labor

collective is the manager of the socialist property we do not deny in the least the role of the manager. He is the manager not only of the organization or any one of its branches but of the labor collective as well. The power of the manager is not aimed at restricting the rights of the labor collective. It is granted by the people and ratified by the labor collective itself. A manager can implement the policy of the state and ensure the implementation of state assignments only by organizing and involving in the project the entire labor collective and relying on it. As I emphasized at the trade union congress, today enhancing the role of the labor collective and of one-man command must be combined.

What is the consequence of this?

The Labor Code must distinguish between the competence of the labor collective and the manager, meeting the requirement of steady interaction between them;

All problems affecting the workers and employees must be mandatorily discussed and resolved by the organs of the labor collective. This includes, for example, problems of the formulation of counterplans, norming and wages, socialist competition, labor conditions and safety, social services and recreation, and the social development of the collective;

Should differences arise between the manager and the labor collective on problems of the implementation of state planned assignments and other mandatory instructions issued by the state organs, the manager must have the right to act according to his own views until the discussion has been resolved by the corresponding competent authorities. Should differences arise on other problems, the manager must take into consideration the decision of the labor collective. By codifying these concepts in the new code we shall help to assert the labor collective as the manager of the organization.

The second group of problems pertains to relations between the labor collective and the trade union organization. In this case I would like to point out only this:

Most and, in the majority of organizations, probably all members of the labor collective are trade union members. Nevertheless, there is a difference between the labor collective and the trade union organization and this difference must be taken into consideration in the Labor Code:

It is unquestionable that on some problems the labor collectives will make independent decisions;

On other problems the trade union organs will have their range of competence in protecting the rights and interests of the labor collectives and the individual workers;

On a third group of problems which, in my view, should account for the majority, discussions and decisions must take place jointly. The Labor Code must stipulate that all problems related to labor relations and the social development of the labor collectives should be discussed and resolved jointly;

In a number of cases such as, for example, in the conclusion of collective labor contracts, the trade union committee must act as the representative of the entire labor collective and assume specific obligations in its behalf;

The work of the collective organs, in both direct and representative democracy, must be organized. Who should be the organizer? It seems to me that no hesitations should exist in this area. The trade union organization and its trade union committee must organize the activities of the labor collective. They must have the right to call a brigade meeting, a general meeting of workers and employees or a meeting of representatives; to organize the election of representatives; to ensure on the basis of specific conditions and possibilities the broadest possible publicity of the work of such meetings of representatives. In general, the trade unions must become the guarantors of the proper organization of the work of the collective organs. They must also bear the entire responsibility for the work of these organs and this should be reflected in the Labor Code.

The third group of problems which must be settled with the Labor Code in connection with the labor collectives applies to their establishment and development.

It is obvious that the labor collective cannot be established by accident or spontaneously. Since the labor collective consists of workers and employees who have labor relations with the socialist organization, it is the organization which should determine the type of collectives to be established. However, this is not to say that the composition of the labor collectives is determined only through administrative procedures. This would not be in the spirit of the level reached in the area of socialist democracy should the managers of the organization alone assign the workers in labor collectives. In order to come closer to Marx' stipulation regarding the labor collective under communism as the free and voluntary association of working people we must grant as of now to the collective itself the right to establish its own structure and establish its own internal organization.

In this connection what are the problems which must be reflected in the Labor Code?

In appointing new workers the opinion of the primary labor collective must be sought;

The labor collective and its manager must have the right to submit to the economic organization the names of specific individuals to be appointed to the collective;

Should the appointment involve a contest, the commission in charge of the contest must include a representative of the primary labor collective;

It would be proper, in addition to managers of specific labor collectives, to hold elections for some other positions such as that of deputy brigade leader, accountant, or responsible officials for groups, teams, and others.



The labor collective must be granted the right to reduce its number as it deems fit. In such cases the management of the organization must assume the responsibility of using the manpower of the liberated workers in other activities.

The fourth group of problems related to the labor collective applies to collective labor contracts.

We know that collective labor contracts are an old and tested form of organization of relations between socialist economic organizations and labor collectives. They have proved their usefulness and we must retain them and enhance their role in the new Labor Code.

It is no secret that a great percentage of formalism exists in this area. It is as though the threat exists that such contracts may acquire an administrative-bureaucratic nature and be concluded only for the sake of concluding them rather than becoming a powerful lever, a booster in the development and strengthening of socialist labor relations and collectives. We must put a decisive end to such practices.

What are the more important problems related to collective labor contracts to be resolved through the new Labor Code?

First, the question of the content of the collective labor contracts concluded on different levels. Clearly, their content must be differentiated in accordance with the nature and level of the labor collective.

The economic mechanism calls for the conclusion of plan-coordination agreements between brigades and the enterprise management, which stipulated their basic obligations related to the proper development of the production process. It may be proper for such obligations to become a part of the content of the collective labor contract concluded between the brigade's trade union group and the enterprise. The content of the collective labor contract concluded between the enterprise trade union committee and the management of the economic organization may be similar. A separate collective labor contract, with a different content, may be concluded between the economic organization and the council of chairmen of trade union committees of the organization or any other authority of equal status. As we can see, it is a question also of a qualitatively new approach in the conclusion of collective labor contracts. This will not only introduce a certain differentiation but will avoid the conclusion of many contracts of similar or entirely identical content. It seems to me that this will essentially enhance the role of the collective labor contracts, particularly those concluded with the labor collectives of brigades and enterprises.

Second, so far collective labor contracts were concluded on an annual basis. Following the elaboration and adoption of the five-year counterplans by the economic organization, which include stipulations related to the social development of the labor collectives, it would be proper for the collective labor contracts to cover a 5-year period, refined on an annual basis in accordance with the refinements introduced in the annual counterplan.

The question arises of whether or not the content of the collective labor contracts should include problems of the social development of the labor

collectives. Some comrades believe that since the plan for social development is part of the counterplan it would be unnecessary to repeat it in the collective labor contract. This problem is indeed worthy of consideration. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the collective labor contract should contain some basic concepts related to the social development of the labor collectives. These are not only problems of the counterplan but obligations, legal obligations assumed by the economic organization toward the labor collective. The management of the economic organization must know that it is liable for the nonfulfillment of such obligations. Furthermore, the collective labor contract could concretize, refine or further develop some of the stipulations of the counterplan related to problems of the social development of the labor collective.

Third. We have increased the autonomy of the economic organizations and have given them the right to settle by themselves many problems on the basis of the laws promulgated by the state organs. This is proper. Each economic organization has its own characteristics based on the nature of its production-economic activities, technical standards, labor organization, location, etc. These characteristics influence internal cost effectiveness, wages, internal labor regulations, etc.

However, should each individual problem be the subject of specific laws?

It seems to me that the desire to strengthen the internal independence of the organizations has led to excesses and extremes. A number of internal regulations are being passed, some of which are duplicated. Discrepancies are also allowed. Let us not mention a large amount of time and efforts which go into their drafting and adoption. Better order must be established in this area. Perhaps all problems related to labor relations could be settled with a single regulation, in this case the collective labor contract of the economic organization. It should include, for example, problems of wages and material incentive, working time, leisure time, labor conditions and labor safety. It would be proper for such problems to be settled on a contractual basis. This will eliminate the need for the adoption of individual rules or regulations related to wages, internal labor procedures, internal cost effectiveness and others.

Fourth. The Labor Code must include a mechanism for the settling of disputes which may arise in the conclusion of collective labor contracts. Currently no such mechanism exists. This means that the contract does not include problems which have caused arguments and on which no agreement has been reached between the parties. It would be far better for such arguments to be resolved with the help of superior economic and trade union organs and with the participation of the parties--the representatives of the economic organization and the trade union committee.

Fifth. Currently the Labor Code says nothing on controlling the fulfillment of the collective labor contract. This may be one of the reasons for the fact that part of these contracts turn into formal actions. Like any contract, the collective labor contract must stipulate legal guarantees governing the implementation of obligations assumed through the contract. Furthermore, we must increase reciprocal control over the implementation of obligations. Those responsible for each case of nonfulfillment of obligations should be held liable.



The fifth group of problems related to the labor collective applies to some of its new tasks and responsibilities to society, which must be included in the Labor Code.

The new Labor Code must specifically state that the basic duty of each labor collective is to preserve and increase the socialist property assigned to it. In the present code this obligation applied to the individual working person only.

The feeling of ownership of socialist property does not arise in the labor collective suddenly and automatically. Some members of the labor collective are unable to realize that in addition to belonging to the public, this socialist property is theirs as well. This may explain manifestation of inertia and a passive attitude in the struggle for the protection of socialist property and in the struggle for conservation and efficient utilization of public property.

Every labor collective has the duty to develop an atmosphere of intolerance toward those who waste socialist property, who do not help to conserve material resources and who irresponsibly destroy the environment. The code should stipulate the proper responsibilities of the labor collective in upgrading its efficiency. I deem it necessary for the code to reflect the basic stipulations of the economic approach on this matter and to take a step forward in some respects.

What do we mean by this?

First, we must guarantee the differentiation among individual wages based on the real contribution of the individual member of the collective by preventing equalization. The responsible opinion of the labor collective must be sought in resolving this problem.

Second, the labor collective and its immediate manager must be granted the right to define the limits within which the basic wage can be raised or reduced in the case of those who, respectively, are contributing or hindering the efficient work of the collective.

Third, we must strictly include more effective one-time and permanent incentives for contributions related to the application of scientific and technical progress, applicable to the collective as a whole and the individual worker. In this connection it would be suitable for the code to include the right and obligation of the labor collective to be informed of the latest achievements in the area of its activities, along with the obligation of the ministries, as state organs, to provide the collective with the necessary information.

Fourth, the new Labor Code should include a mechanism through which the collectives, the workers themselves, would struggle for more precise observance of the principle of "equal wages for equal work." Thus, for example, the preservation of unrealistic lowered labor norms is not in the interest of the collective. Sooner or later this has an adverse effect on its production results. We should think of voluntary norm corrections. This means to encourage

the internal establishment of realistic and differentiated norms on the initiative of the workers themselves. Naturally, in order not to infringe on the interests of such workers, the wage rates covering a given period should be amended as well. Such changes must be made gradually, enabling the collectives to discover new reserves and to improve the organization of their work with a view to attaining the higher norms.

The sixth group of problems is related to the rights and obligations of the labor collective regarding its socialist organization.

First of all, this applies to problems of counterplanning. Many party and legal documents deal with the question of the role of the labor collective in counterplanning. In practice, however, we are still far from our objective. Today in frequent cases counterplanning is a one-time act in which management involves the workers, rather than the live action of the labor collective itself, as I mentioned at the trade union congress. I believe that the right of the labor collective to make decisions on adopting or amending the counterplan should be settled in the new Labor Code.

Secondly, the new code should guarantee the right of the collective management organ of the economic organization. It should stipulate the problems which must be mandatorily solved at the general meeting of all workers and employees and the problems which must be resolved by the representative organ. It is no secret that occasionally laws are passed granting rights which subsequently no one exercises. However, we are not in favor of superficial and formal democracy. That is why we must ensure the high activeness and competent participation of all working people in managing their organization. This, for example, involves the important problem of the extent of advance preparations for general meetings, of meetings of economic councils, and so on. Workers and employees must be familiar in advance with the nature of the problems to be discussed and, if necessary, surveys of their views on individual problems may have to be taken.

A serious error is occasionally made by considering that the discussion of social and cultural problems is just about the only item at meetings of the labor collective. The main attention of the labor collective must be focused on production assignments and problems of the steady improvement and advancement of the organization of labor. It would be unnecessary at this point to enumerate everything. However, I must point out that this applies mainly to problems of the conservation of raw materials, materials and energy, full mastery of progressive technology and purchased licenses, full use of installed capacities, improving the quality of output and the skill of the workers, problems of labor discipline, etc.

In the third place, the Labor Code should stipulate the right of the labor collective to organize and be responsible for the proper use and allocation of social funds put at its disposal, the "social and cultural measures" fund above all. This will not only enable us to allocate this fund more equitably in accordance with the real needs and contributions to its creation but will encourage the labor activeness even further.

It is particularly important to clearly emphasize the principle of self-financing in the implementation of social measures. This means that each economic organization and the organizations and departments in the nonmaterial area must procure the necessary funds and conditions for financing the wages which will be declared in the course of improvements made in wage and salary rates. At the same time, it would be proper for enterprises and agroindustrial complexes to invest their own funds in financing some social measures related to increasing the birth rate, the building of nurseries and kindergartens, and the development of material facilities for worker health care. All this means that the economic organization must develop its social functions essentially on the basis of identified additional reserves and the systematic application of the new economic mechanism.

The fourth is to refine the rights and obligations and the real possibilities of the labor collective of influencing the organization of labor, production and management. Unfortunately, we must admit that we are seriously lagging in this area.

As we know, we deliver comprehensive technological systems meeting world standards. A comparison between their operational indicators, however, would reveal that our labor productivity is sometimes lower by a factor of 1.5-2 and even greater compared with similar technological systems used abroad. The new code should call for mandatory preliminary organizational preparations for each labor process. If we wish to reach global standards in finished products we must master global standards in production organization.

The fifth problem is that of ratifying and extensively applying the new forms of labor organization, above all that of the brigades of a new type. The new Labor Code must refine the legal aspects governing the functioning of such brigades and guarantee the necessary conditions to achieve this.

The final group of problems which must be reflected in the Labor Code deals with concern shown by the labor collective for the individual worker or employee and for enabling him to prove himself in full at work and in life. Let me remind you of the thought expressed by Brezhnev in his report to the 24th CPSU Congress: "An inerradicable feature of our way of life is that everyone is responsible to the collective and the collective is responsible for every worker." If we wish to enhance the role of labor collectives in our society we must above all improve the relationship between the individual working person and the collective.

The individual cannot prove himself entirely, he cannot be satisfied with and properly rewarded for his work unless the collective as a whole achieves high results. This develops common interests and, as Engels says, "If there are no common interests there can be no unity of action." The economic approach contributes to the actual manifestation of collectivism in labor. We must make use of this and develop an equitable and equal attitude toward all members of the collective on an economic basis.

That is why the Labor Code must help us to implement even more systematically, through legal norms, the basic distribution principle under socialism: "To

each according to his labor!" It must emphasize clearly and powerfully the principles of socialist collectivism, comradely cooperation, selfless mutual aid, labor competition, organization and discipline, and responsibility to others.

The need is ripe to strengthen the social functions of the labor collective not only regarding its members and the socialist organization but the corresponding conurbation system as well.

The labor collective pursues its activities on the territory of a given conurbation system. It is recruited mainly within the system and it is within the system that the families of the collective live. This unbreakable tie leads to the natural obligation of the labor collective regarding the development of the conurbation system, particularly in the formulation and implementation of its comprehensive plans, the development of its infrastructure, the functioning of the self-satisfaction system, etc. These problems must be reflected in the Labor Code.

#### VI. On Broadening the Rights and Obligations of the Socialist Individual in the Course of the Labor Process and in Observing Them Most Strictly

The rights and obligations of man in the course of the labor process must play the central role in the new Labor Code. In the socialist labor legislation and the socialist Labor Code this person must be considered not only as manpower but as an integral individual whose capabilities and possibilities must be fully used and steadily developed.

It is proper for the labor rights and obligations of the working person to constitute a new special section of the Labor Code. This applies to his basic rights and obligations which express the principles of the socialist system and define the political aspect of socialist labor legislation.

What approach should be adopted in defining such rights and obligations? The main and new aspect must be the consistent implementation of the principle of unity of rights and obligations. This principle must be clearly earmarked and run through the entire Labor Code, for in a socialist society no one should have greater rights than obligations and vice versa. The existence of greater rights than obligations creates parasitism and a consumerist attitude toward work and life. The existence of greater obligations than rights alienates man from labor and society.

The new Labor Code must confirm the great accomplishments achieved so far in this area and also regulate the new rights and obligations which stem from the radically changed social atmosphere in the country and the new economic and social role played by the socialist working person.

The first problem which I would like to raise in this connection is that of the basic right and obligation to work. I say basic, for it is the basis of all other rights and obligations involved in the labor process.

If we understand the right to work in the sense that every able-bodied citizen must be given a job, this was already accomplished 20 years ago. Today, however, we need a new understanding of the right to work and a new means of its implementation. It is no longer sufficient in terms of the modern Bulgarian citizen to have any job at all. What matters is the type of work which will enable him to bring to light and develop his own creative capabilities which he can apply not only in one but in a variety of areas of social life.

This calls for formulating stricter requirements concerning the obligation to work and its exercise. Today the socialist worker must develop new qualities--high-level organization and efficiency, practicality and initiative, high discipline and self-discipline, and readiness and possibility of full participation in labor according to changing circumstances.

Today, when individual labor contracts are signed, no sufficient use is being made of the freedom to discuss the content of the contract. We must not forget that the parties to the labor contract are equal and that they can freely agree, for example, on the obligations of the organization related to labor conditions, housing and other living facilities, help in upgrading education or skills, etc. According to the contract, the worker also has the right to assume some additional obligations. We must also surmount the existing means of ratifying the labor contract only by order of the manager. Does this not violate the principle of equality among the parties in concluding the contract? It is as though here again the bureaucrats have gained the upper hand. However, an end must be put to such practices. It would also be proper, should a given candidate be rejected, for the manager to have the obligation to motivate his decision.

As I pointed out, the time is ripe to regulate the right to additional work.

For example, the code must clearly stipulate that anyone can work additionally or exercise a second skill in his legally free time. To this effect the specialists should determine the length of the maximal duration of such additional working time.

The second problem related to rights and obligations applies to professional development and the growth of man in the course of his work.

This is an exceptionally important problem. It affects the right to general and professional training and retraining included in the current legislation as well. At this point, however, it must be enriched with a number of new aspects: the steadiness and persistence in vocational training, the possibility of changing jobs in accordance with increased or newly gained skills, etc. In accordance with such changes we must also stipulate the new obligation of the working people of steadily upgrading their professional skills.

In turn, the organizations must assume the obligation to create the necessary conditions for steadily upgrading and enriching the general and professional training of the working people through material aid, additional leave, broader opportunities for upgrading skills on a full-time basis, etc. It would be

expedient for the organizations to undertake a social review of the state of cadre skills once every 5 years. This will provide a broader social assessment of the exercise of the rights and obligations on the part of the organization and the working people.

In order to exercise consistently the right and obligation of professional development and growth, we must develop an overall efficient mechanism for the assignment, reassignment and promotion of all cadres--managers, specialists and workers. The competitive system, the elective principle and growth on the job must reflect its qualitatively new elements.

As we know, we have clear and promising stipulations regarding the competition system and elective principle. Some sectors, okrugs and enterprises have acquired extensive practical experience in this respect. The competent state organs are already drafting the proper legal documents. They should be completed shortly and their application in appointing leading cadres and specialists should be undertaken.

It would be proper for the new Labor Code to reflect the fundamental, the basic stipulations of the competition and election system directly related to the rights and obligations of workers and employees. For example, it must be specifically stated that anyone who has won the competition must be immediately appointed to the position. Should this right be violated, he should be given the opportunity to seek the protection of the trade union, the competent state organs and the courts.

In this connection, some problems deserve particular attention:

It must be borne in mind that the competitive system and elections apply to the exceptionally delicate problem of the professional career and personal prestige which take years to develop. We all know that men are particularly sensitive to such problems. That is why the development and application of the competition system and the elective principle should be approached very carefully and guarantees protecting them against eventual misuse should be stipulated;

The system of cadre promotion must be such as to guarantee the development of the most capable among them and, at the same time, block the unable, those who display irresponsibility, careerism, callousness concerning the afflictions and problems of the working people and bureaucratism in carrying out assignments. I do not emphasize this without a reason, for practical experience has indicated that a capable and talented manager or specialist is frequently unable to defend his own interests and rights, while the mediocre specialist and the untalented person become particularly aggressive and inventive in defending their positions;

By encouraging the development of those who are capable and creative, we must bear in mind that creativity and initiative at work are inevitably related to risks and, frequently, errors. In this connection the time is long ripe to regulate the nature of sensible and creative economic risks. The problem of errors demands a new attitude and new assessments. As we know, errors are made as a result of a careless or criminal attitude toward the implementation of



social obligations. In such cases no one should be forgiven, regardless of official position, and the Labor Code should stipulate the necessary responsibilities and penalties. However, there also exist errors which accompany any creative initiative and undertaking. In such cases we must display the necessary attention and understanding. It would be proper to consider carefully how to establish a practical distinction between this kind of errors and the deliberate violation of official obligations;

The right of holding a given managerial position in production based on competition must be guaranteed on the basis of a properly elaborated procedure. Above all, we must determine the type of positions which must be held through competition. In connection with the position we must determine who has the right to apply. The view on admitting candidates to a competition must be provided by the corresponding state organs who have the right to identify and substantiate the rights of the candidates. This must be followed by an election held by the labor collective. This is based on the special role which the manager plays in the life of this collective and the new circumstances which are created following the application of the economic mechanism. The fact that he is elected means that the manager has not only been approved by the collective. It means something far greater: the creation of a bilateral obligation: the obligation of the collective to back the initiative and decisions of the manager and the right of the manager to defend the common interests of the collective.

Growth on the job is a qualitatively new element in exercising the right to professional development. It applies mainly to performing cadres. As I pointed out, not everyone can grow hierarchically, for which reason this stipulation must be applied fully. The necessary legal documents are already being drafted by the competent authorities. The main way to exercise the right to grow on the job is the fuller use of economic incentives—higher wage rates when the workers have been promoted to a higher grade but are unable to assume their position because of personnel limitations; the establishment of individual wage rates, and others.

Considering the complexity of these problems, I suggest that we experiment before undertaking their general solution.

We should consider the future expansion of the right of workers and specialists with secondary training to continue their training in higher educational institutions even if this is not related to their labor obligations. Why should a worker not have higher training even if he continues to perform his old job?

The third question in the area of rights and obligations applies to the labor environment.

One of the basic rights of the socialist working person is his right to work under safe and hygienic conditions. This determines to the highest extent the state of his health and ability to work, his self-esteem and his human dignity.

I already pointed out that a substantial conflict is developing in this area between contemporary requirements and the status of the working environment.



Our society has sufficient material possibilities of surmounting this contradiction. The new Labor Code should maximally contribute to the solution of this problem in the immediate future.

Furthermore, the code should stipulate the obligations and responsibilities of workers and employees in observing the rules of hygiene and labor safety. Today a high percentage of labor accidents are caused precisely by the violation of such rights and the scornful attitude toward individual safety means. The violation of this obligation should entail a responsibility and legal sanctions. At the same time, we must regulate the right of the worker to refuse to do a job under conditions which worsen his health. Would it not be proper to grant him also the right to leave the enterprise immediately if the economic management fails to implement its obligations regarding the creation of normal working conditions?

A differentiated approach based on sex is needed in the field of labor safety. We know that nearly 50 percent of the working people in the country are women whose reproductive functions must be protected strictly.

The most serious shortcoming of our labor safety policy is that most of the funds stipulated for such purposes are used for partial improvements and compensations. What is more effective and more humane: to spend millions of leva for partial neutralizing of health-damaging conditions or to invest most of such funds in preventing the reasons which lead to adverse labor conditions, in radically changing the labor environment, the building of prophylactic and resting institutions, and so on? Obviously, this requires an essentially new approach, a new strategy. Safety and hygienic labor conditions must be provided along the entire chain of the building and functioning of production and nonproduction projects. For this reason the Labor Code must define clearly and precisely the obligations and responsibilities related to labor safety in all organizations engaged in designing, building and operating such projects and manufacturing corresponding machines and equipment.

In order to guarantee the fact that this problem will be radically resolved, no permits must be issued for new construction unless the blueprints also stipulate modern, safe and humane working conditions. Generally speaking, it is high time to formulate a comprehensive system of material incentives for all activities related to improving labor conditions and to stipulate corresponding property and administrative-punitive sanctions.

The current Labor Code allows in some cases up to 150 hours of overtime annually under strictly defined circumstances. In this connection, I have two remarks to make. The economic organizations must precisely observe the conditions governing overtime and the trade unions must intensify their control and struggle against concealed forms of overtime. Furthermore, it may be proper, as is the case with Soviet legislation, to reduce with the new Labor Code the maximal annual amount from 150 to 120 hours. The economic organizations should make more extensive use of the voluntary additional work method in resolving temporary difficulties instead of resorting exclusively to overtime.

We know that as a result of the accelerated application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress labor conditions change continually but not always in a favorable direction. That is why I suggest that the Labor Code should stipulate the periodical updating of existing norms, standards and criteria in assessing manpower parameters. It is on this basis that we must also consider cases which require reduced working time, additional payments and other compensations.

The fourth problem relates to the rights and obligations of workers and employees in connection with work and leisure time. Hardly anyone would dispute the successes achieved by our policy in this area.

Our length of working time, rest and leave are consistent in their general lines with contemporary scientific requirements regarding the condition of human health and development.

However, life and the needs of the working people do not stand still. They raise new problems which demand prompt solutions. Allow me to deal with some of them.

Let me begin with the working time. For the past 8 years there has been a 5-day work week, totaling 42.5 working hours in all sectors with the exception of agriculture and education. This major social gain must be reflected in the new Labor Code as well.

The Labor Code must include the answer to other problems as well, related to working time and raised by reality. For example, it must stipulate part-time work for mothers with small children, pensioners and students. Such opportunities should equally be made available to workers with skills in trade, services and other sectors the nature of whose work does not require full time employment.

Furthermore, the new Labor Code must also provide a better answer to the idea of the variable working time, which will enable us to make more efficient use of manpower resources and to combine the interests of the workers with those of the enterprise.

It would be proper for the working people to have the right to refuse overtime in excess of the stipulated norm. It is important to define the obligations and responsibilities of the organizations in creating conditions which will facilitate the efficient use of nighttime work. Presently there are cases in which important requirements related to night work are missing, such as warm food, refreshing drinks, and others.

At the same time, allow me to emphasize that we shall continue to pursue the line of reducing the weekly and daily length of the working time. Naturally, this will depend on the material conditions which are created, on increasing labor productivity and on the production results achieved.

The new Labor Code must categorically stipulate that the observance of the working time and its most efficient utilization are among the basic obligations and responsibilities of the working people. Adequate penalties must be

stipulated for those who violate these rules, along with other measures such as, for example, coordination of working time in the service industry with the nonworking and leisure time of the citizens, providing consumer services at the place of work, and others.

Some problems related to leave and nonworking time, which directly relate to the rights and obligations of the working people must be resolved with the new Labor Code.

The current basic length of the paid annual leave (14, 16 and 18 working days), of the extended paid leave, additional leave for work under harmful conditions and training leave should be retained. At the same time, however, a differentiated approach should be applied in determining the length of the leave based on the nature of the work and the individual contribution of the working person in reaching higher quantitative and qualitative labor indicators.

Guarantees must be stipulated to prevent cases in which the working people lose their right to paid annual leave undeservedly. The new Labor Code should make it mandatory for the managers of organizations to ensure the use of the annual leave by every worker and employee.

Would it not be proper to grant additional leave to specialists--designers, technologists, economists and others--after a successfully resolved creative or production problem. Eventually, such specialists should be given the right to use one day monthly to upgrade their professional skills.

The main, the basic feature of our policy in this area, however, should be the efficient use of the nonworking and leisure time and the resting time and paid leave. These are social rights and acquisitions whose purpose is to restore the ability to work and to strengthen the health of the working person and to encourage his development. The efficient use of these rights and acquisitions exceptionally depends on the means through which the socialist organizations fulfill their obligations in this respect. That is why the new Labor Code should outline far more clearly and categorically the obligations of the socialist organizations on increasing the free time of the working people at the expense of the nonworking time (by improving cafeteria use, opening commercial stores and consumer service bases, services providing administrative facilities, more summer camps for children, preschool institutions, and others), as well as their obligations regarding the more efficient use of the free time of the working people.

The fifth problem deals with the right of workers and employees to be paid for their honest, conscientious and persistent labor.

As we know, the income of workers and employees consists of the individual wage and the use of public consumption funds. Theoretically, this means of distribution was determined by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. It is on its basis that equality is developed in income distribution, socialist social justice is exercised, the living standard is developed and the socialist way of life is established.

In this connection, I deem it necessary to draw your attention to two essential problems:

The first deals with the new features related to the systematic implementation of the right of the working people to be paid according to the quantity and quality of their work.

What are the new features I have in mind?

We know that the wage reflects both the individual and the collective labor result. In this connection, it is important for the labor code clearly to define the mechanism through which we determine the personal contribution of the individual worker in terms of the results achieved by the respective labor collective;

The economic mechanism, as we know, does not define any minimal or maximal wage limit.

The minimal wage is established on a centralized basis. However, it can be received only if its earned. I believe that this is entirely correct. As to the maximal limit, it must be consistent with the highest possible labor results. This too is proper and just although it has not been legally defined.

In this connection, let me share with you the fact that we are obligated to the working people who deliberately assume increased labor obligations and responsibilities and reach maximal production results. These are the labor heroes, the rationalizers, the multiple machine operators, the initiators of new progressive deeds for the accelerated application of the achievements of technical progress in production and the tutors. The current labor code does not provide conditions for rewarding their dedication. This particularly applies to the labor heroes. It is high time to create the status of the labor hero, the leading production worker, which will fully settle their situation in terms of obligations, rights and privileges;

The current Labor Code stipulates the right of the working people to additional material incentives. This applies to bonuses, specific awards, and additional payments for nonprestigious and unattractive work, adverse labor conditions, and others. This regulation must be retained in the new Labor Code;

When we speak of the income of workers and employees we cannot ignore the nominal wage. As we know, wage rates and reforms play an important role in its regulation. The experience we have acquired in this respect, although small, indicates the need, particularly under the conditions of the economic approach and its mechanism, for a new approach in their implementation, an approach similar to the one we applied in converting to the 5-day work week.

Through the state, society will continue to determine the maximal amount of the new wage rates and salaries and minimal wages in a given five-year plan. The new Labor Code should stipulate that the economic organizations can reach such wages earlier, bearing in mind the ratios among them, within the limits of their wage fund. Reaching the planned labor productivity or any other synthetic indicator must be a prerequisite to this effect.

It would be expedient this very five-year plan, along with raising the overall minimal wage, to raise the minimal wages of specialists with higher training from 155 to 170 leva and of specialists with secondary training from 135 to 145 leva, granting the organizations the right to appropriate the necessary funds through the means we indicated.

Furthermore, I suggest that during the next five-year plan income taxes be lowered, some fees be reviewed and lowered, and the base for the payment of membership dues be changed (to be based on net rather than gross income). This will increase the real wages of all working people.

The second essential problem has to do with the right of the working people to earn an income from the other basic source--the social consumption funds.

Only a part of these funds are controlled by the Labor Code--the social funds of the socialist organizations. Over the past 10 years these funds have nearly doubled. The new economic mechanism creates conditions for increasing them considerably, depending on increased production efficiency. The main task is to relate even more their use to the quantity and quality of the labor contribution of the individual working person except for cases of social aid.

Unfortunately, we cannot claim that our practice meets this requirement. For example, the allocation of rest cards does not always depend on the invested labor; good workers are not granted additional paid leave; their housing problems are frequently not resolved on a priority basis; they are not given priority in upgrading their education, and so on.

Our position is clear and categorical: while observing the principles of social justice, we must also encourage both morally and materially the good workers, the good managers.

I suggest that these problems be suitably resolved with the new Labor Code.

Most of the benefits and gains of the working people obtained through the social consumption funds should be settled on the basis of the social insurance law which is to be drafted. Since this law is directly related to the labor process and labor relations, allow me to cover briefly some of its features.

The 12th party congress stipulated that so far the economic function of the utilization of social consumption funds has been underestimated in their distribution and utilization and that the assets of these funds are not related to the individual contributions made by the individual working people. In this connection, two features are noteworthy:

First. The line of closely linking social consumption funds to the labor contribution must be applied systematically in resolving problems of compensation for temporary disability. The basic principle in this area is that the living standard of the working people must not be lowered compared with the time preceding the disability. We are gradually coming closer to this objective. During this five-year plan there will be another compensation increase.

What is important, however, is that such compensations be related more directly to the actual wage and the gradual elimination of disparities in the size of compensations based on labor seniority. The maximal limit in determining the base for the computation of the compensation should be raised.

Second. A closer correlation must be established between pensions and wages. In the current method for computing pensions the base cannot exceed 130 or 140 percent of the base (regular or rate) wage. This applies to leading production workers and does not stimulate the overfulfillment of planned assignments. This situation must be amended in the new Labor Code.

The current Labor Code stipulates a number of acquisitions benefiting the working people who need special social protection and care in the course of the labor process. This applies to women, minors, the partially disabled and the pensioners. Today our society has the possibility of extending this protection and ensuring even more favorable conditions for work done by such individuals.

What does this mean in more specific terms?

First: working women. The new Labor Code must ensure not only the fuller professional realization of women but also the most favorable combination of their working and maternal functions. It is particularly important:

To provide an overall solution to the vocational guidance of girls. They must be directed toward skills which will not harm their reproductive function and will be consistent with their capabilities. A great deal has been said on this matter and laws have been passed but the necessary steps have not been taken. That is why this must be especially stipulated in labor legislation and in the list of work which women must not perform and must be steadily updated;

Strictly to observe measures for the protection of pregnant women. As we know, in our country organization managers have no right to refuse a job to a pregnant woman. Bulgaria is one of the few countries where women can be employed immediately after their pregnancy has been proved. Despite this, additional legal guarantees are necessary to ensure the effective protection of pregnant women in the case of any eventual violation of such rights;

It would be expedient for the ban on refusing a job to a pregnant mother to be extended also to mothers with small children, roughly under the age of 6. Should the mother meet all requirements without, however, being appointed to a proper job, it would be proper for the appointment order to be issued, for example, by the respective okrug labor authority;

Particular attention must be paid to the education and skill training of women after a lengthy leave for maternity and to mothers with small children. Paid leave for raising the first and second child should be gradually extended to 3 years. I believe that a certain extension of the current leave is possible this very five-year plan. In turn, the new Labor Code must stipulate the obligations of the socialist organizations to upgrade the education and skill training of women in such cases.



Second: the employment of minors. This applies to minors who have interrupted their education as well as to students participating in practical production training, brigades, and others. The Labor Code must deal especially with concern for such young people.

Night work should be forbidden for such people; the lists of professions they cannot practice must be updated; possibilities must be created ensuring their faster adaptation to the production process, the enhancement of their skills and education, and so on.

Third: partially disabled individuals. Concern for such individuals must be focused mainly on the following:

Supplying them with suitable jobs;

Increasing the opportunity for work at home;

Use of part-time work;

Use of special mechanization and automation facilities in their work.

Fourth: working people past retirement age. I already pointed out that they constitute a significant labor reserve on which we rely and will continue to rely. That is why the new Labor Code should regulate labor relations of pensioners with a view to providing them with work under conditions suitable to their age and state of health, and against suitable wages.

## VII. Making Decisive Improvements in Labor Management

A new approach is necessary regarding problems of labor management as well.

The problems and tasks in the area of labor and labor relations I have discussed in connection with the formulation of a new Labor Code can be systematically and fully resolved and carried out only with the existence of an efficient and effective labor management and labor relations system, covering all levels and areas of social labor. The legal labor regulations which will be included in the new Labor Code must be considered part of this system.

As we know, until the middle of 1981 the centralized management of activities related to labor was provided by the former Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare (after 1976 by the former Committee on Labor and Wages). These organs, which implemented party and state policy in the field of labor and labor relations, generally speaking carried out substantial work for the efficient utilization of manpower resources, regulating wages on a national and regional scale, and creating the organizational and material conditions for a conversion to a 5-day work week and reducing the weekly length of the working time. All of this deserves a positive rating.

At the same time, we must frankly admit that both these organs and the existing labor management system were unable to reach the level of contemporary requirements. Excessive emphasis on current problems was allowed and the main and



basic features in the process of the development of social labor were ignored. The reorganization of labor on an intensive basis was delayed and we are far behind the efficient utilization of the nation's labor potential. We did not promptly eliminate bureaucratic administration, the practice of resolving problems with orders from above and the tendency to regulate everything and to provide a petty supervision of primary units in the labor area.

What we need today is the creation of a qualitatively new, unified, modern and efficient labor management system which would combine the state with the public principles. It should be such as to make a substantial contribution to the application of the new ideas and concepts and the systematic implementation of the labor policy of the party and the state.

That is why we must not only reformulate the nature and method for developing a labor management system and its functions. We also need a new type of cadres who can think and work creatively, daringly and with a feeling of perspective.

What should be the new and main aspects of this system?

They apply, above all, to its scope.

The labor management system must be such as to influence not one aspect or another but all aspects and elements of public labor, the entire chain of the public labor process--labor organization, conditions, resources, incentives, and so on. The most important, the central factor and element in the development of this system should be the public organization of labor aimed at the comprehensive and efficient realization of the human potential.

In my view, the most important problems which must be resolved with this system are the following:

It must be responsible for the formulation and the organization of the implementation of the strategy of improving the content, nature and quantity of labor, its intellectualizing and the gradual elimination of heavy and unattractive manual labor;

To ensure with the help of all state, economic and social organs and organizations a modern level of labor organization, based on scientific norms and criteria, equal to the most advanced worldwide models, steadily updating the normative labor base;

It must cover and manage the unified national system for vocational training and retraining of cadres; it must plan, organize and control the work of state and economic organs and organizations related to the vocational training and retraining of cadres, guaranteeing the mass application of the most progressive ways and means of work in the various professions, realms of activities and labor directions, as established on a global scale;

It must be responsible for the most efficient utilization of manpower resources in the country through their full involvement in production activities, the

additional work of the citizens and work in their private plots, in accordance with public interests and requirements;

It must formulate and implement policy in the field of wages as the basic factor for encouraging efficient work and upgrading the living standard;

It must resolve or participate in the solution of social problems related to labor in all areas and directions of the labor process (labor organization, norming, wages, and so on) and all stages in the reproduction of manpower resources, from labor training to retirement;

It must coordinate the scientific research work in institutes and units related to basic labor problems and labor relations and organize the creation of conditions leading to the extensive use of sociological, psychophysiological, ergonomic and other studies and methods in improving the organization and conditions of work, norming, vocational training and wages. In this connection, I deem it expedient to reopen the former Labor Institute;

It must ensure the functioning of an information labor system as part of the unified social information system.

Secondly, the new and main features apply to the unity and unity of action among all organs and units which this system must serve in matters of labor, based on the socio-state principle. This will enable us to eliminate the current discoordination and pursue a unified policy in this field in the future. Through the state-social principle governing the organization and functioning of the system the efforts of the respective state and social organs and organizations will become more purposeful in the elaboration and resolution of problems related to labor and labor relations.

This will also eliminate the existing lack of coordination in labor management. Currently the State Committee for Planning is in charge of the organization and norming of labor and wages; the Ministry of Public Education is in charge of vocational training, the training of performing cadres and the assignment of young specialists; the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions is in charge of the formulation of national programs and setting a normative base for labor conditions and safety. Bearing in mind that these departments have their own territorial organs as well, the result is a multiplicity of organs which manage the labor area "piece by piece" on the national and territorial levels.

Thirdly, the new and main features apply to the structure and functions of the labor management system.

In connection with all of this, I believe that it would be expedient to create on the national level a unified socio-state organ--a Committee for Labor and Social Affairs--as a governmental organ in charge of the entire labor management system.

As I suggested at the trade union congress, such a committee should be chaired by a deputy chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. The

committee should include representatives of the central committees of the sectorial trade unions, Fatherland Front National Council, Komsomol Central Committee, Bulgarian Women's Committee, Bulgarian Industrial-Economic Association, Association for Economic Tourism and Recreation of the Working People, and some departments of functional competence such as the Committee for State and People's Control, State Committee for Planning, State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Public Education and Ministry of Public Health as well as heroes of socialist labor, scientific workers, and others. It would be proper for the committee's chairman to be a member of the National Planning Commission and the Council of Ministers Commission on the Living Standard.

The Committee for Labor could set up coordination councils on some basic and specific problems, such as wages, working and leisure time, women's labor, youth labor, labor in individual economic sectors, etc. Before decisions have been made on such matters, they should be discussed on a broad democratic basis with the participation of the interested organs and organizations, the trade unions and the other public organizations, scientific workers and specialists in the respective areas.

It would be proper to set up on the territorial level okrug labor and social affairs councils, involving representatives of trade unions and other public organizations on the okrug territory, the okrug state and people's control committee, the public and public education directorates, directors of economic organizations, noted specialists and front-ranking production workers, and others. The membership of the okrug labor council should be elected at a session of the okrug people's council.

It would be expedient on the basis of the existing uncoordinated units of the executive committees of okrug people's councils to set up labor and social affairs directorates as the executive organs of the okrug labor councils.

The okrug councils and directorates would also be subordinated to the Committee for Labor and Social Affairs.

The okrug councils should be entrusted with the following:

To participate in the formulation and implementation of policy in the labor field on the regional level;

To develop problems and assist in the reorganization of the socialist organization of labor in the okrug on the basis of the best nationwide achievements;

To coordinate the activities of the socialist organizations in the vocational training and retraining of cadres;

To implement the policy of developing, dynamics and utilization of labor resources on the okrug's territory;

To resolve or participate in the solution of social labor problems on a regional scale, and so on.

By decision of the okrug labor council, approved by the Committee for Labor, labor and social affairs councils could be set up in the larger obshtinas, with representatives of state, economic and public organizations within the conurbation system. The membership of the labor council should be appointed at a session held by the obshtina people's council. The labor and social problems bureaus should be their executive organs, coordinating the activities of the currently existing various administrative services dealing with such matters.

In order to develop the labor management system entirely, it should have its own organs and units within the socialist organizations as well--where the work is actually being done. It would be proper for such organizations, on the basis of the already existing various services dealing with labor problems, to set up consolidated labor and social affairs sections which would have the following duties:

The implementation of plans for modern labor organization, consistent with the best achievements in the sector;

The creation of a system of norms and standards for assessing labor results and wages;

The resolution of problems related to labor conditions and safety;

The professional training of cadres within the organization, manpower recruitment, and others;

The solution of social labor problems within the enterprise, and so on.

The collective management organs of the socialist organizations could set up labor and social affairs commissions which would assist in the work of the labor sections and issue opinions on their suggestions submitted to these organs.

Generally speaking, the main line should be the following: the local labor and social affairs organs to become democratic socio-state organs which, with the help of a broad public aktiv, the trade unions and the working people themselves, would manage labor in the respective okrugs, conurbation systems and socialist organizations.

In this connection we do not raise the question of improving the system of social insurance management. The reason is not that it is perfect. On the contrary, here again a number of unresolved problems exist. Furthermore, social insurance is a separate activity which affects the interests of millions of citizens. Suffice it to point out that in our country more than 1.5 million citizens receive pensions while the number of workers and employees who are temporarily disabled is in the hundreds of thousands every year.

Considering the great importance of social insurance and its relative autonomy, the problems of its management should be studied separately, discussed and resolved properly without delay. This could and should take place in connection with the drafting of the Social Insurance Law.

#### VIII. On Enhancing the Role of the Trade Unions in Labor and Labor Relations

As was pointed out at the recently held Ninth Trade Union Congress, the Bulgarian trade unions are an organic and an exceptionally important part of the labor and labor relations management system in our country. Our society has no other mass public organization more directly involved in such problems. As I present the party concept of a new Labor Code, I shall deal more especially with some requirements regarding their rights, functions and obligations.

The new Labor Code and labor legislation should stipulate new concepts on the further increase in the participation of the trade unions in national economic planning and management through the following:

The right of the central trade union organs most actively to participate, on an equal basis with the other central organs, in the formulation of the unified plans for socioeconomic development and the determination of their basic indicators and social directions and, in the case of the local trade union organs, the right to participate in the formulation of the counterplans and the mobilization of the labor collectives for their implementation;

The rights of the primary trade union organs to express views on candidates for managerial positions within the organization or the enterprise and the obligation of the respective state organs not to appoint candidates without such an opinion;

The right of the primary trade union organs to participate in the organization of contests and elections of leading cadres and specialists;

Rights related to the organization and activities of collective management organs.

Should we not give the right to the okrug trade union councils and the central committees of the respective trade unions to demand a termination of the labor contracts of managerial cadres and specialists, including the head of the socialist organization, should they engage in systematic violations of labor legislation, fail to ensure the implementation of obligations related to collective labor contracts, apply a callous and bureaucratic attitude toward the working people or violate the rights of the trade unions?

In the spirit of the party concept of a new Labor Code, the trade unions should play a particularly important role in the creation, application of and control over labor legislation; they must be the public guarantor in this respect. As we know, the new constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic grants the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions the right to initiate legislation. Since 1971 the Labor Code has been amended and supplemented on six occasions. However, not once has this taken place on trade union initiative. During the past almost 11 years various labor and social laws have repeatedly passed or amended, but the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions has exercised only once its right to initiate legislation.

Naturally, such initiatives should not be submitted for their own sake. Nevertheless, the inertia which was allowed to occur has not contributed to upgrading the prestige and expanding the functions of the trade unions.

All state organs and officials must realize that no single legal act in the field of labor and labor relations--regardless of its level--law, ukase, decree, regulation, directive or instruction--could or should be adopted without the participation and preliminary opinion of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. The trade unions must supervise the observance of labor legislation with far greater concern and firmness. Each individual violation is a violation of socialist democracy and the interests of the working people, which should not be allowed. Unfortunately, many such violations have occurred. It is not normal in the least that over the past 3 years alone there have been more than 30,000 labor disputes related to layoffs in the country. In recent years citizens' letters to the social management authorities and the mass information media, raising questions related to labor law and social insurance, have invariably held one of the leading positions. Why is it that the trade unions, the local trade union organizations in particular, fail to react sufficiently energetically to such irregularities, merely noting them instead of struggling for their total elimination?

Preventive control in terms of the observance of labor legislation must be intensified. The labor inspectors must increase the number of their investigations in enterprises. The range of competence of the control organs must be increased along with their legal, technical and other specialized training.

As I already pointed out at the trade union congress, the trade unions must undertake to ensure and organize the rest and recreation of the working people with a feeling of far greater responsibility and exigency. In 1981 organized resting facilities were provided for no more than about 28 percent of all those employed in the national economy. This is quite inadequate and is far below our existing possibilities. Compared with employees, workers are being given a substantially lesser number of cards and in most cases they are being assigned private premises, bungalows and huts. The development of family recreation and balneological-sanatorium treatment has fallen behind. The living conditions in a large percentage of the homes managed by the trade unions and the rented private premises are primitive.

This situation must be changed radically. The trade unions have been given the full right to ensure the rest and recreation of the working people. This is neither a minor nor a secondary matter. It is a vital problem related to the present and the future of our nation and to upgrading labor efficiency in all economic sectors.

The use of existing resting facilities must be decisively improved. They must be developed and perfected. The departmental lack of coordination of material and technical facilities and the organization of resting activities must be surmounted.



Greater possibilities must be granted to enterprises and their trade union organizations of building rest stations, prophylactic institutions, bases for short rest and others, to be used in accordance with specific requirements, giving priority to the better and more needy workers and their families.

After the Ninth Bulgarian Trade Unions Congress, energetic measures were taken for the reconstruction and modernization of resting facilities for the working people. A total of 25 million leva were appropriated for this purpose, i.e., the figure was increased by a factor of 8 compared with the previous annual program. Material and construction facilities were provided. This indicates the great facilities at the disposal of the trade unions.

The protective function of the trade unions must be manifested and increased even further. They must undertake more energetically the protection not only of the individual working person but the entire labor collective, defending them both against unconscientious members and bureaucratic distortions and violations of their interests. Their protective function should be manifested also in the case of disputes related to the need for retraining, reassignment of some labor resources and other situations which are the result of production developments and the installation of new equipment.

I believe that the conditions are ripe for clarifying and legally codifying the protective functions of the trade union committee in terms of the individual worker, the toiling man, and the procedure and forms of intervention. This particularly applies to the procedure governing the termination of a labor contract. We have no reason to fear the trade union committee!

The obligations of the trade unions increase as their functions expand and increase. This is because rights and obligations are inseparably related. These are two sides of a single process.

In this connection, let me point out above all that the trade unions must assume new responsibilities in order to implement their role as one of the basic social guarantors for the systematic application of the new economic approach and the development of its possibilities. Without dealing exhaustively with the matter, let me stress that the Labor Code and the labor legislation accompanying it should include responsibilities such as:

Participation in improving the socialist organization of labor on the level of global accomplishments in this area;

Summing up and disseminating leading production experience and assisting the invention and rationalization movements;

Assuming greater responsibilities in strengthening labor discipline;

The trade unions must be the public controller in setting wages; they must intervene in conflict situations involving the unfair allocation of the wage fund in labor collectives;

They must be responsible for the elaboration and implementation of systems for adapting to work cadres in enterprises and establishments, and so on.

The trade unions face new tasks and responsibilities also in connection with the implementation of the stipulation that the labor collective is the manager of socialist property. In this case I would like to point out only that they have the following duties:

Through their daily organizational and educational work they must cultivate in the working people an attentive attitude toward the socialist property they manage on behalf of the labor collective and to ensure its most effective utilization, preservation and multiplication;

They must react rapidly and uncompromisingly against those who waste socialist property, wear it out or harm it in any other way; they must demand not only the disciplinary punishment of the culprits but also physical liability as compensation for the damage caused;

They must create within the labor collective a social atmosphere of intolerance toward those who harm socialist property, regardless of their position within the economic organization;

The trade unions face stricter requirements concerning ideological and educational work in terms of asserting the feeling of ownership, establishing the connection between the individual contribution of the working person and the labor collective as a whole, on the one hand, and the wages earned, on the other, and so on.

This calls for taking additional political, legal and ideological-educational measures aimed at upgrading the activeness of the primary trade union units and enhancing the level of trade union democracy. Perhaps it may be proper to stipulate even greater guarantees aimed at upgrading the role of the trade union chairmen and the members of the primary trade union managements, as follows:

A trade union committee chairman may not be dismissed or transferred to lower paid work for approximately 2 to 3 years after the expiration of his term;

All paid trade union chairmen without exception must be considered full time personnel of the respective trade union;

Greater exigency should be displayed toward the trade union chairmen and they should be considered more strictly answerable to the trade union should they systematically fail to implement their assigned functions;

At the same time, the status of the trade union chairmen must be made more stable; the central committee of the respective trade union must be asked for its opinion should a motion be made to recall a trade union chairman before the expiration of his term;

Workers and employees, who are members of the trade union committee, may be subject to disciplinary penalties or dismissal only with the preliminary agreement of the respective superior trade union organ.

The role and activities of the trade unions in the areas of labor and labor relations will become the more effective the greater becomes the legal knowledge and particularly the labor-legal training of the working people. It is particularly important to increase the knowledge of management cadres in the area of problems related to our labor legislation. This must be one of the basic concerns of the trade unions.

Today the working people are not properly familiar with their rights and obligations according to trade union regulations and labor legislation. It is true that the trade unions have units in charge of legal labor defense. The task now is, however, for legal consultations to come closer to the workers themselves. In this connection it would be expedient, for example, for specialized jurists to offer such consultations at the enterprises themselves once weekly, and to deliver lectures and talks on legal matters. Furthermore, whenever new legal documents related to labor relations and social policy are issued, the trade unions should see to it that all working people are informed of their content.

The Labor Code must settle the rights and responsibilities of the trade unions on problems of the socialist competition as well. The trade unions themselves must develop new ways and means to enhance the organization of the competition.

The managerial and social functions of the trade unions, their ideological functions and their obligations are interrelated in a state of dialectical unity. The consistent and efficient implementation of such functions and obligations will not only enhance the role and social prestige of the trade unions but will also give a new content to Lenin's stipulation regarding the trade unions as being a "school for administration, control and communism," consistent with the current stage in our development.

Such are the problems and tasks which, in my view, must be included in the basic stipulations of the party's concept regarding the new Labor Code. As we can see, they are of exceptionally great social significance, for they affect all aspects of our life and relate to the vitally important interests of every person, for it is progress in labor and labor relation organization and management that determines the progress of our society as a whole.

It is precisely this that defines the great role and responsibility of the party and the party organizations under whose political management tremendous, painstaking and steady work must be done to convert the new gains of the worker and the working class, of every toiling person and labor collective, from decrees to real daily actions, as V. I. Lenin said.

In our country there is no social development problem which can be resolved without the strength and firmness of the party organizations. It is no accident that particular attention was paid to the role of the party organizations in the proceedings of the 12th party congress and that decisions were made on steadily enhancing and improving their activities and upgrading their social and political significance. I believe that with the application of the regulation on the economic mechanism and the adoption of a new Labor Code we are establishing exceptionally important prerequisites for the implementation of these decisions.

Why? Because the activities, the basic and decisive activities in organizing and managing the economy and the other areas of social life are being shifted more than ever before to the labor collective which means the territory of the party organizations, the realm of their competence and their political management. It is precisely there that the main problems affecting the life of every working person and of the labor collective itself are being resolved. In the future they will be resolved on the basis of an enhanced individual and collective responsibility under the conditions of a considerably broadened direct and representative democracy.

To this effect the party organizations must above all develop the necessary political atmosphere for the consistent and accurate application of the new Labor Code. High principle-mindedness will be needed in maintaining the priority of the public interest under all conditions and circumstances. Initiative and a creative approach will be necessary in making use of the new possibilities for more efficient economic and other social activities and ensuring the better status of the individual and the labor collective. Conditions will have to be secured so that the voice of every worker and labor collective be heard, as L. Brezhnev said at the Soviet Trade Union Congress.

The party organizations must provide the necessary political conditions so that the application of the new Labor Code and the new rights and obligations of the working people and labor collectives turn into a powerful factor in promoting their initiative and energy and upgrading the efficiency in managing our economy and social life. This means to ensure a real exercise of the rights of workers and employees and labor collectives, and the precise implementation of their obligations; it means the proper combination of extensive democracy in labor and labor relations and in production management with one-man command; it means to ensure the practical enhancement of the role of trade union organs and organizations.

The party organizations must engage in consistent and principled struggle against any attempt to distort or adapt to private or private-group interests the new steps taken in regulating labor and labor relations. We have no reason to ignore the difficulties facing us. The process is complex. Perhaps some may try to use the new rules as a screen behind which they would operate as of old. This will require quick and efficient social and political reaction to any attempt to distort the new and to infringe upon the gains achieved in the area of our socialist labor legislation.

Unquestionably, these are assignments facing every party member, all party managements and the party at large.

We must ensure the overall and consistent implementation within the new code and labor legislation of the "Basic Stipulations of the Party's Concept of a New Labor Code." We must also provide the necessary conditions for the overall systematic application of the stipulations of the new Labor Code and labor legislation. This is a matter of class duty for the party of the working class, the party of the working people.

The party, the trade unions, the managements of the socialist organizations, the labor collectives, every working person, our entire public, all of us must feel responsible for the success of this major project.

I believe that it would be proper to undertake the drafting of some new laws which will affect the consistent and comprehensive application of the principles and stipulations of the party's concept regarding the new Labor Code. This applies to the Law on Social Insurance; Law on the Self-Management of Labor Collectives; Law on the Application of the Elective and Competitive Principle, and other legal documents. Subsequently, the draft Law on Social Insurance and the drafts of the new laws I mentioned must be submitted simultaneously for discussion by the National Assembly (BTA).

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHURCH'S AMBIGUOUS POSITION ON REGIME DEFENSE POLICIES ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 11, Nov 82 (signed to press 22 Oct 82) pp 1125-1131

['Commentaries and Topical Discussions' feature article by Peter Wensierski, chief editor, KIRCHE IM SOZIALISMUS (published by Berliner Gemeinschaft fuer Kirchliche Publizistik); GDR travel correspondent, Protestant Press Service (EPD): "Tightrope Walk Without End? The Synod of the GDR Church Federation in Halle"]

[Text] For the first time in the history of the GDR Church Federation, the problems of peace almost completely dominated an entire synod. For 5 days (24 to 28 September) the 60 members of the synod drew up a balance sheet as the representatives of Protestant Christians in the GDR. Already the church leadership report delivered at the start of the negotiations dealt almost exclusively with that subject. The plenary discussions and committee consultations, which in the end led to a consensus on the future possibilities of an independent contribution to peace by Christians in the GDR, also revolved around it. It was with some suspense that the congress had been anticipated within the church and at the base committed to peace. And what do the balance sheet and the prospects look like? Summing it up in a single sentence, one can say that despite increasing state pressure the Protestant churches in the GDR want to continue to promote and deepen a critical peace consciousness in their parishes and among the young, without aiming at a course of confrontation with the state leadership.

For the Protestant churches in the GDR, the Halle synod moreover was a milestone in a process of clarification in which a number of other European churches find themselves as well. In light of the nuclear threat, what is at stake here is a question of persuasion, a proclamation of the "status confessionis."

This congress did not yet have to decide, however, whether the question of peace touches on the question of persuasion. Yet there is apparent in the GDR Church Federation a distinct trend toward nuclear pacifism, toward rejecting the deterrent system of insuring peace, and in favor of constructive political pacifism.



## Integration of Contradictions?

The church leadership report\*, delivered to a large extent personally by the bishop in charge, Werner Krusche (Magdeburg), tried to describe the various moods and trends among GDR Protestants and, weighing them against one another to submit them for discussion. Krusche's address clearly reveals an effort to remain in a dialogue, or begin a dialogue, with anyone of a different persuasion in the GDR. There is also a great variety of views within the church. An effort not to eliminate anyone from this spectrum--more radical pacifists or persons supporting the government peace policy--had already become apparent at various church peace events in the summer. The Thuringian Land Youth Sunday in Eisenach, frequented by 10,000 people, or, for instance, the East Berlin Peace Workshop in June were attended by representatives of the Christian Peace Conference (CFK) and the GDR CDU as well as young pacifists and critical authors.

Time and again the church leadership report refers to the need for a basic rethinking. "In this rethinking," it states, "it is a question of viewing afresh and sorting afresh traditions of thought and inherited feelings which have turned into a centuries-old habit." Pacifism as the expression of a longing for a world without violence and as testimony to a tie according with one's conscience could be a stimulus for such definite rethinking. Turning critically to the pacifist youth base, Krusche said: "As long as pacifism remains only the expression of a longing and testimony to a tie according with one's conscience, however, it does not yet constitute that rethinking itself."

Another passage states, however, that pacifist ideas today might assume "a positive-content significance in a new way," for any nuclear war and also wars with highly developed conventional weapons systems fundamentally violate the classical criteria of a "just war." Because such confrontations would not yield a justifiable benefit to either side, it could no longer be regarded either as a continuation of politics with different means. "A pacifism based on this realization also gains a certain degree of rational justification and political reasonableness today." Nevertheless Krusche does not want to attach absolute significance to political pacifism. In his view definitely some situation can arise where one can support the application of force as a last and necessary way out to overcome the unjust destruction of human lives. This argumentation, as is known, also played a role in the debate about the program of the World Council of Churches for fighting racism.

## Bridges to a Dialogue?

Church leaderships thus have a decidedly varied attitude toward the problem of pacifism. Nor are they interested at present in adopting an unequivocal position. Above all, they want it to be possible also to debate the problem in the GDR. Pacifist positions are no longer to be disparaged by the SED

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\*The mentioned addresses and decisions of the synod were published verbatim in the EPD-DOKUMENTATION No 47/82. Extracts may be found in the documentation in this issue, pp 1219 ff.

(for example, in schools) but are to be voiced openly and with equal right. Erich Honecker personally is cited as a star witness in favor of this stand. Again and again the church argumentation returns to various statements by the head of state and party at the Fourth Session of the SED Central Committee. For example, Honecker himself states that "war in the nuclear age should no longer be regarded as politics with different means, but everything possible should be done to prevent it." Concluding the Central Committee plenum, he stated that "more armament no longer means more security." Such statements are considered a bridge to a mutual dialogue. They are to be starting points for a dialogue between peace-committed Protestants and youths and their state counterpart.

Krusche discerns starting points for this dialogue in the past. For example, when he stated in connection with the demands made by the youth base for doing away with military toys: "Of course we have to put up with the counterquestion as to whether this is really the time to talk about military toys considering that decisions are being made about the manufacture and deployment of neutron bombs, for example, and as to whether the bringing up of such questions does not in a dangerous way spread ambiguities about what constitutes an acute danger to peace."

One does not, however, want to confuse the various levels and the weight of the various questions, because time and again the individual GDR citizen in everyday life learns things on the basis of which he judges overall political contexts, and if there arise unresolved contradictions to the verbally expressed peaceful perspective of public policy, there easily develops a fertile soil for distrust which does not contribute to stabilizing society. Such unresolved contradictions are experienced, for instance, if on the one hand citizens hear the consequences of a nuclear confrontation in Europe being described again and again in the basic declarations of leading Eastern bloc politicians and, on the other hand, in civil defense exercises or in military instruction one makes light of the consequences of nuclear strikes.

Among the contradictions is also the fact that, on the one hand, it is stated that "more armament does not mean more security," while on the other hand there is constant strong emphasis on the fact that "the stronger the armament of socialism, the more secure is peace." Finally, according to the Krusche report, there is also "the fact that images of military heroism are conveyed and put up as models, that war is romanticized, that esthetic terms are used to describe the 'art of warfare' and that in the process the awful realities of a possible nuclear confrontation are ignored entirely. In 1945, after World War II, which originated on German soil, the language habits of military patriotism and the behavior patterns of military culture were thoroughly suspect to us; we should regard this not as a disadvantage but as an obligation." These contradictions experienced in the GDR constitute a significant motive force for the birth of a peace movement of one's own independent of the state. One is repelled, among other things, by such statements in books of the military publishing house as "A specific sphere of activity of the beautiful is military service for the defense of the socialist fatherland."

## With or Without Arms?

The trend toward a constructive political pacifism accompanied by concrete differentiation of the situation of the problem becomes apparent at another place, which is primarily of interest to the youth base--the question of military service. Not only have the GDR Protestant churches long since been advocating the possibility of military service without arms, but they also lend support to those who for reasons of conscience refuse any participation in military service. Here a gradual rethinking has occurred in the past decades. Performing obligatory military service, in contrast with the past, often is no longer regarded as something that is obviously necessary. The decision for or against military service today is described by the leadership of the GDR Church Federation in a blanket way as a "risk." Krusche says about this: "Christians can assume the risk of military service because, and to the extent to which, the state rightly can obligate its citizens to insure the well-being of society and protect it from external threats. To fulfill this duty can be a form of service to one's fellow man. One has to speak here of a risk in that military service per se neither automatically means service for peace nor a priori service for war. We will not be able to avoid here individual concrete decisions, and require for that purpose mutual consultation in the community of the Christian parish."

Now, the church leadership is being confronted ever more urgently by a persistent base with the question as to whether it really is permissible for Christians to take part in any measures connected with the system of insuring peace through deterrence. Many expect the church one way or another to make a more unequivocal decision in this question. But this is precisely what the church leadership does not want. A "single-line decision which is imposed on all Christians does not necessarily pronounce things more clearly," says Krusche. He continues: "To be sure, a decision for service without arms can point more clearly to the promise of the coming kingdom of God in which Christian faith places its hope. But, raised to the level of a program, it can also make it unclear and make one forget that we have been warranted the kingdom of God precisely by the death on the cross of Jesus Christ, which sealed the love of God and yet at the same time documents our remoteness from God in our bondage to sin, from which we cannot free ourselves on our own."

Such statements of course meet with considerable opposition on the part of those who would prefer a more unequivocal position. Considering the various ideas within the church, there might, however, occur considerable polarizations, possibly even a split, in the GDR--and this is really no different in the West. Krusche and the church leadership will not and cannot support vicariously an unequivocal decision which does not accord with the intrachurch state of affairs. As it is, the GDR society the church has only the "authority of a petitioner," and so it was one of the results of the synod that one expects greater tolerance by the state for the decisions of conscience by young pacifists, as well as relief for those who decide for service without arms. Construction troop soldiers should at last be employed in such a way that their service attains a more positive content as the expression of social responsibility and readiness for peace--for example, in behalf of protection of nature, protection against disasters and aid for the handicapped. There

is another problem which should be solved at last--the one concerning those reservists who have already served in the National People's Army (NVA) but now opt for service without arms. The current practice is that, since the law does not allow ex post facto refusal of armed service, such objectors (who are reported to have numbered more than 50 so far this year) are given sentences whose size exceeds by far the period of the scheduled reserve service. In the view of the church, they should at least be given the opportunity to do their reserve service also as construction troop soldiers.

#### Capable of Concrete Realization?

Turning to politicians, not least to those in both German states, the church leadership report contains quite a number of proposals which could be aimed at as a result of renouncing the spirit of the system of deterrence and as intermediary objectives definitely lending themselves to implementation. Explicit emphasis is placed on the fact that a renunciation of the system of deterrence must not be equated with a renunciation of a reasonable readiness for defense. It was therefore necessary to recognize the idea of deterrence as an abuse of the right of any country to defend itself. The GDR churches had never questioned but rather recognized the justified security interests of their state and other states. There is no intention whatever of retracting this if one now realizes that the spirit of the system of deterrence can only be rejected. The measures capable of concrete realization which the GDR church leaderships have in mind may be divided into three groups:

1. The exchange of information between possible adversaries, who in fact are partners in security, should be strengthened in such a way as to enable one side to evaluate properly the intentions and planning of the other. Measures of secrecy should be limited to the degree which is also indispensable for peaceful competition.
2. Confidence-building measures probably could be developed more effectively if at each step the question is raised concretely as to what can arouse fears on the other side and how such fears can be reduced. In military development the emphasis of efforts should be shifted to the development of weapon categories whose defensive nature is recognizable. This could take account of the discerning categorical imperative, "Arm in such a way that the other side can make it imitate it exactly without your feeling threatened as a result!"
3. It appears urgent that there be a renunciation of armament measures which aim at actions of surprise and shorten the early-warning time. Currently existing weapons which can also be used for purposes of aggression should be moved apart. The formation of regional nuclear-weapon-free zones--for instance, in Europe--should be a priority aim of concrete political negotiations. Establishment of recognizably defensive security systems should be placed on the international agenda, as well as the concept of limited unilateral steps of disarmament. What is to be expanded is not the credibility of deterrence but that of the potential for peace.

It is precisely the last point that makes it clear just how far reaching are the consequences of renouncing the spirit of the system of deterrence, for the armament measures which are to be renounced for the reason that they aim at actions of surprise and shorten the early-warning time are the stationing of the new NATO missiles as well as the further stationing of SS-20's. Renunciation of the system of deterrence is therefore a matter with concrete political results in the direction of both East and West.

#### Question of Persuasion Touched on?

In the 5-day debate, quite a few member of the synod went far beyond the position of the church leadership report. Superintendent Ludwig Grosse from Saalfeld, who in addition is a member of the Conference of Church Leaderships, stated for instance that for him personally it was a question of the "status confessionis" that Christians from East and West praying together and consulting, attending service and taking communion together might possibly kill each other for reasons of maintaining their respective social order. "For the sake of openness and honesty" the entire church would have to think further at this point and as far as he was concerned, the answer clearly was "No!"

Renunciation of the spirit and logic of deterrence, however, poses a number of basic theological questions. Already at the "Dresden Peace Forum" in February of this year, the Saxon Land bishop, Hohannes Hempel, had stated explicitly that the testimony to peace (particularly in connection with public pressures) did not touch on the question of persuasion. In the resolution on questions of peace subscribed to unanimously by all members of the synod, the situation was described straightforwardly:

"New weapons systems are to make possible a nuclear first strike, with new strategies attempting to insure that such a strike succeeds. This threat to all life resulting from exaggerated armament is a challenge to our belief. If we tacitly put up with it, we come into conflict with God the creator, for his command obligates us to preserve creation and rules out the right to destroy it. It is therefore, here a question of obedience or lack of obedience to God."

It is unlikely that it will remain an open question in the long run as to whether Christians may participate in preparing nuclear defense, in threatening with weapons and, altogether, in a war using armed force with a view to insuring peace. Since quite a number of synod members think this is a question of persuasion, of the "status confessionis," the synod decided to commission a study to examine the term of "status confessionis" in connection with questions of peace. The Theological Study Section of the GDR Church Federation is working on it at present and is expected to submit its study at the next session of the synod in spring 1983. This examination is, however, to "be made in an ecumenical context." This touches deftly on a momentous problem, for the Protestant churches in the GDR are likely to find it hard to go it alone in the question of persuasion without this "ecumenical context." The EKD [Protestant Church in Germany], to which one professes to be "obligated in special community," is being challenged considerably by this federal synod as it is.

The members of the synod had received with great interest the greetings remarks by the official EKD guest at the beginning of their congress. In them, West Berlin Superintendent Werner Radatz reported about the discussions on the subject of peace within the EKD. The peace theses of the Reformed Federation, which criticized the EKD peace memorandum for being ambiguous and indecisive and themselves reach the conclusion that the question of peace is a question of persuasion, aroused such great interest that copies of them were made for all participants while the congress was still going on. While contradicting the theses of this Protestant minority church in the Federal Republic in its communique of 25 September, the EKD at the same time stressed the need for further discussion because, as Radatz put it, "such a communique cannot conclude the debate." Schwerin Bishop Heinrich Rathke meanwhile has endorsed the theses of the Reformed Federation and criticized the EKD rejection.

#### An Historic "Peace Synod"?

Rejection of the system of deterrence, the trend toward nuclear pacifism and the posing of the question of persuasion in fact denote the substantively interesting points of the peace discussion within the Protestant churches in the GDR at this synod. So it is likely that in this respect too the congress in Halle represents a landmark in the history of the GDR Church Federation. The Western dailies emphasized different matters. The GDR media reports were reserved and general. In contrast with the spring congress, the GFR journalists accredited in East Berlin were able to attend the synod. The application by some traveling correspondents were rejected, however.

The Western press pointed up the fact that the patch "Swords into plowshares" is no longer to be manufactured or used. Actually this decision by the conference of church leaderships was one that had been made in the past and not one that been newly taken by this synod. The church leadership had made the decision in order finally to reduce the street confrontations in which youths wearing the patch as a rule ended up at a disadvantage vis-a-vis the People's Police. It believed that it unnecessarily stood in the way of the confrontation with the dissidents in the GDR, which was considered far more important. "The dialogue which has begun would be ruined if one now insisted demonstratively on the patch," Krusche stated. In addition the government in January had introduced a new licensing procedure for imprints on textiles, so that it would have been necessary for the churches to obtain permission for the imprint, which definitely would not have been granted. Already after the Dresden Peace Forum, when during spring a veritable hunt for the patches had started, the Saxon church had been forced to concede the limitations of the church in a synod declaration, saying: "We cannot protect you any longer."

"For the sake of peace," the church leadership report states, it is now intended to do without the patches, because the SED suspects it as a possible sign of an oppositionist attitude, which it does not want to tolerate in light of the situation in neighboring Poland. Despite forgoing the patch, there is, however, support for the symbol and its meaning. It even decorates the title page of the ARBEITSMATERIALEN DER FRIEDENSDEKADE this month. The church



leadership has stated that it continues to regard the statement "as a signpost pointing out the direction in which one has to go if one wants to disarm." This attitude was confirmed by a majority of the synod, though some criticism was voiced sporadically.

Thus Parson Christoph Stier in the opening service had spoken about the "threatening gap between church base organizations and the leadership of the church" and had asked whether this synod would manage to bridge this gap without paying the wrong kind of consideration. A number of youth representatives but also quite a few parsons, superintendents and theology professors stated explicitly that the base thinks far more radically about questions of peace than does the leadership. In the discussion, in addition, the terms "pastoral caution" and "overly chary attitude within the church" could be heard. It was stated that young people clearly were tired of analyses. Tired of engaging in deliberations on principles, they were wondering "what kind of tangible things we may be able to do." The Dresden youth delegate Michael Frenzel of the Youth Synod expressed the opinion that the confidence of young Christians might be disappointed "if the church pays more attention to the concerns of the state than to the peace commitment of Christians." He thinks young Christians know that the talks with state offices are difficult and complicated, "but it is incomprehensible that already in the approaches opportunities are being squandered through an overly chary attitude within the church." Observers of the synod wondered whether by demonstratively giving in the question of the patch the church expects a rapprochement on the part of the state in other areas--for example, concerning extension of construction troop service to reservists.

One thing is clear: From all the synod's contributions the state was given sufficient suggestions as to where it might initiate further concessions. Ludwig Grosse, for instance, spoke about the almost daily repressive actions in his superintendent's area of Saalfeld and about the increasing negative experience elsewhere. In the entire instructional field, in children's catechism classes, in confirmation classes, among young people, things are happening which are in conflict with the declarations of Erich Honecker and the promises being given in state-church talks on specific matters. He stated that "contrary to the policy pronounced in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, there can be no question of freedom of belief and conscience."

There was such a variety of individual cases whenever questions of insuring peace were at stake that one could not speak of individual cases any longer. "An entire field--instruction, the school and apprentice conditions--is being excluded from freedom of belief and conscience." Contrary to Honecker's declarations to the Western press, construction troop soldiers were no longer in a position to follow certain professions. Grosse cited an example: "For 3 years now, we have made efforts in behalf of someone who had to break off his work to complete his apprenticeship because he opted for service as a construction troop soldier, and to this day, despite the efforts of our Land bishop--he has not been able to resume this training." Grosse cited this example because he considers it a question of honesty and unconditional openness, which alone makes possible the proclaimed cooperation and independence. This

includes, in his view, the question that is being raised when the GDR Church Federation assents to a "moratorium of hostile rhetoric" passed by the Moscow World Conference of Religious Representatives, namely: "How can one in fact tolerate not identifying what is being practiced in the way of hostile rhetoric in this country Monday after Monday in the 'Black Cardinal' broadcast?" Grosse made it a point to emphasize that he takes the state seriously as an interlocutor with its declarations of principle concerning peace, but for that very reason one could not ignore such things and had to identify them.

Wittenberg Parson Friedrich Schorlemmer also pleaded for things concerning peace to be brought out into the open. He said in the debate that it was his impression that it was intended to retire the symbol "Swords into plowshares" from public appearance and retrieve it into the church areas, but he thought that peace today needed demonstration and presentation. Its nonviolent advocates could involve other persons in the question of peace without promoting anything or asking for any action. The supporters could discover one another that way and step out of their anonymity "without having to form an organization."

The leading church representatives are making efforts, while looking critically in the direction of West as well as East, to achieve the necessary scope for the movement for peace. The hope is also to inject impulses into the political landscape in the ecumenical framework, such as happened once before in the mid-1970's during the pre-Helsinki period. What is being taken seriously in the process is not only a continuation of the debate about the questions broached in Halle within the GDR; great importance is being attached to coming talks with churches in the United States and in the Soviet Union.

The confrontation with the West German EKD is the most problematical. Whereas the Protestant churches in both German states agree in recognizing the legitimate security interests of their state imbedded in its military bloc, in the GDR not only the base is urging something different. The church leadership report submitted in Halle, the resolution concerning the question of peace and the discussion were clearly marked by bringing together all existing positions and contradictions and thus pleasing everyone. It is a tightrope walk between an either and an or, not least out of consideration for the EKD. This certainly cannot go on for long. Church policy observers do not expect, however, that the GDR Church Federation will proclaim the "status confessionis" next spring. Possibly the study and the debate will end in a rapprochement in the matter without the principle being tackled. If there soon will be a start to implement the "NATO double decision"--that is, to install the missiles, the situation will change anyway. The GDR churches are afraid that in that case their elbow-room will be restricted considerably. Manfred Stolpe, one of the leading churchmen, takes a somber view of the future, saying: "The capacity for tolerance of our state power is likely to decrease. In all likelihood it will be difficult in an exacerbated situation to practice a peace testimony of the church with a motivation and quality of its own."

8790

CSO: 2300/92

BEZIRK CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING DETAILED

Karl-Marx-Stadt FREIE PRESSE in German 15 Oct 82 Supplement p 1

[Article by Klaus Mueller: "Learning for the Protection of Life--Klaus Mueller (writer) and Klaus Jedlicka (photographer) Visited the Max Mueller Bezirk School for Civil Defense in Aue-Alberoda"]

[Text] "Lift! Stretcher, march!" Ten men are standing on the steep slope. At the command, 6 of them pick up the poles between which lies an 11th man on strong canvas--he plays the casualty. He is moved downward, step by step. The seventh and eighth men now take over at the foot end. At the head of the stretcher, a pair of carriers is relieved and goes forward so that the injured man can be handed farther and farther. Two of the 10 people secure the stretcher with ropes. After this obstacle has been overcome, another phase follows. Two rescue groups act in concert. Then everyone is ordered to put on his protective mask and move the "victims" another 150 meters using the shoulder grip. Finally, this exercise for the civil defense cadre at the Max Mueller Bezirk School in Aue-Alberoda is over. First Lieutenant Guenter Reinhold, the head teacher in the fields of rescue, salvage, and repair, thanks the participants and offers some advice. He watched the entire exercise--from the wounded man being picked up, being fastened to the stretcher, to his being finally set down. The task was performed within the time allotted to it. But a few mistakes had to be corrected. The injured party must always be carried out of a ruined house head, not feet, first. In the open, however, the person's feet must be up front, and, on the slope, his head must not hand down.

Brigade Supports its Master

One of those who was just standing on the steep slope and perspiring under his mask is 45-year-old Klaus Schuetze. He is a shearing master at the Wolkenburg plant of the Malitex Hohenstein-Ernstthal state enterprise and assistant leader of a civil defense rescue squad. He has been a member of it since 1972. Why? "I feel one must be able to help. Above all, it's a matter of protecting people and saving lives. In civil defense I can learn how," he says. He is married, has two girls, and is not a member of any party. If he has agreed to do something, he keeps his promise even if it requires a great deal of effort, leisure time and exertion. He began

to acquire this self-discipline as a little boy active in athletics. Even now he plays soccer and bowls. His workplace is organized and well disciplined; thus the atmosphere is good. If Schuetze and some of his coworkers participate in a civil defense exercise, the brigades keep working.

The principal of the district school, Capt Bernd Seifert, explains, "Everyone we teach here tries to meet his responsibility in civil defense. Since the school opened in February 1960, about 35,000 cadre and specialists have been trained. The average grades on examinations and theoretical performance evaluations are 1 and 2."

All courses begin in the school's large auditorium, as the captain points out at the start of a brief tour. The room holds about 120 people. The large auditorium has seen awards ceremonies, too. Last but not least, the institution has won the civil defense gold medal and the silver decoration of the Red Cross of the GDR.

Then we were shown through four classrooms. In the Marxism-Leninism room, there is a large map of the world. Here occur discussions about the military policies of the SED of Germany and those of the Warsaw Pact. The role of civil defense in the system of defending the entire country is elucidated.

#### The Most Modern Technology for Students

The room for organization, tactics, and staff work (OTS) deals with the production of management documents. The instructor's explanations are followed by 23 chiefs of staff from district towns and villages. They ask questions or offer suggestions. A lively exchange of experiences is taking place. A large round disc, about 1.3 meters in diameter, attracts one's attention. It is an actionmeter, type SB 1, with which every chief of staff must know how to work. Other examples of visual materials are a luminous panel for map work and the model of a partially destroyed factory and the students.

In the room on protecting the population and the economy, a movie is shown about the tasks of scouting troops. Movies, slide shows, tapes and polylux can all be manipulated from the instructor's control panel. This combination, with which the teacher can easily use all optical and acoustical possibilities, was installed only a short while ago. Here there is a total of over 20 articulate instructional films on all subjects, including rescue, salvage and repair. The special room on this area is dominated by models of landing stages, of operating a ladder lever or a heavy-duty lifting arm used in rescue and salvage attempts at high altitudes. Connecting cords, ropes and cables is also practiced here. The student learns and masters more than 20 different tying methods. They are essential if the civil defense person needs to attach himself or secure an injured party, as well as to tie ladders, pieces of wood, and other objects.

## Great Benefits from Practical Training

"We strive to make this training as practical as possible," explains the head of the school. Since June 1980, numerous missions to clear snow in the surrounding woods have been undertaken. In such instances the operators of power chain saws, for example, were able to demonstrate what they had learned at the school. Students and staff have removed a total of approximately 1,000 cubic meters of wood.

In addition to practical and theoretical training, of course, the district school has to perform scientific research, as is emphasized by Captain Seifert. The institution is concerned with developing new training methods as well as with enriching existing aids and materials. Thus the Max Mueller Bezirk School, influenced especially by Reinhold, has developed a suspension bridge for crossing gullies, little creeks and working one's way through ruins. Testing of the device is to be concluded at the beginning of 1983. The bridge is then going to be recommended to other district schools by the headquarters of GDR Civil Defense. Manufacturing and testing are part of the battle program in honor of the 25th anniversary of civil defense, which is to be celebrated next year. There are additional projects such as the expansion of the 3,000-square-meter training area, the construction of a model shelter and further improvements in equipping the classrooms.

As Bernd Seifert believes, devotion to tradition at the district school received new momentum with the conferring of the traditional name of Max Mueller on 9 February 1981. In the previous year, all staff members assiduously studied the life and work of Chemnitz's leading communist, later mayor and chairman of the district council of Karl-Marx-Stadt. In political instruction, students are familiarized with him. In the tradition room, which offers insight into the development of civil defense, hangs a plan, confirmed by him and going back to March 1958, for the organization of air defense in the counties of the district of Karl-Marx-Stadt. Air defense was the precursor of today's civil defense, and Max Mueller, as district council chairman, was responsible for it. His heritage is in good hands at the district school.

9873

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KONRAD SINGLED OUT AS SELF-GLORIFYING TRAITOR TO SOCIALISM

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Dec 82 p 7

[Article by Peter Renyi: "There is a Great Deal at Stake"]

[Text] It is time to clarify something in connection with the domestic opponents of socialism, primarily in regard to their "status."

I am thinking primarily of this: He is most naive and credulous who still accepts that in general they are against "the power," that on their side there is only ideals, conviction and morality, in contrast to the men of our society, the government party people, who have all the tools of power and coercion. We should not recognize that moral rank which they arrogate to themselves, saying that they enter the contest only with their ideals, naked and unarmed. We should not recognize this, because it is not true. What is decisive is not good faith or ill will, but the facts. Whether they will or not, a great arsenal, an extra-ordinary power is ranged behind them; with its economic and political, military and propaganda apparatus, the West is the potential and reserve of every anti-socialist, anti-communist.

The imperialist centers long ago raised it to a strategy, that they must support in various ways within socialism the elements of erosion and disintegration, the opposition groups and organizations, the trends preaching the bourgeois political system and bourgeois nationalism. This can be called the struggle of the capitalist system against socialism, a natural concomitant of it; but since anticommunist propaganda also insists that, in the interest of this, it must use the tools of economic pressure, apply sanctions, introduce or end embargos, ship or not ship food and take this into consideration, among other things, even in arms talks, fitting to this their readiness to discuss or not discuss arms limitations, it cannot at all be said that the internal opposition is independent of all power, presenting itself as a moral factor above the political struggle.

There is certainly a difference in regard to who among the opposition is happy to have this support and who is not, who has a taste for it and who does not, but there is no difference in this regard, that whatever their intention this defines their true status. Nor are they binding themselves to powers and forces of just any size, those who, in the interest of extending their own power sphere, do not recoil from causing serious harm to the peoples affected.



This must be said bluntly so that it will be clear that there is a great deal at stake. And so that it will be clear that no price is too high for anti-communist agitators--and our peoples must pay it--in order to raise the premium for a handful of opponents! We are not calling into doubt the right of anyone to take a critical position; indeed, we say straight out that it is our task to be the opponents of our own weaknesses and errors. But what must those opponents be thinking, those who are supported from such a source? Either they should reject it and disown it as unasked for pettifoggery, protest and fight against it, and then not act as they have been acting. Or they should act in collusion with it objectively, and bear the odium; so that everyone should know that it is the efforts of the most obstinate anti-peace groups which gives the accent of power to their various gestures, made to appear philanthropic and national. We should not permit them to play the role of meek preachers of ideals, putting on airs as "the champions of justice," far from any power.

Let me repeat, they may get into playing this role unwillingly, without intending to--out of blindness or lack of experience. Only, as they used to say, one does not vote on intentions. What is crucial is the final result, the effect.

This warning could be addressed to many. They should think about what road they have chosen, on what path they are moving and where to, if they once cross the Rubicon which divides critical ideological behavior from hostile political activity. Here I would bring up that role which Gyorgy Konrad has recently assumed. Many friends of literature here know the name of Konrad. Of his books which appeared in Hungary the first, especially, "The Visitor" [A Latogato], aroused a response, evoked a debate and won recognition too, for its prose reminiscent of the vision of reality of Kafka. The second, "The Founder of the City" [A Varosalapito], was less popular, probably because--like "The Accomplice" [A Cinkos--published in the West as "The Loser"] published in the West--he was repeating himself and was slipping more and more into the genre of the political pamphlet. (Concerning the latter book, even Gunter Kunert, who went to the West from the GDR, observed that the novel is "overburdened by a mass of reflections" in which "the presentation giving credit" is increasingly covered by "an overgrowth of style" which "reports and comments directly and thus sententiously.") But I would not like to talk about literary values, but rather about how Konrad's role has changed in recent years, partly as a result of how the international background against which he makes statements has changed. (This is to be understood literally, for he is one of the most diligent makers of statements in the western press; it appears that he has less and less time for literary activity. All the less, since here at home he is chiefly occupied with signing and collecting signatures for petitions of dubious purpose).

That is to say, his political activity today does not at all mean the same thing as that of a few years ago. Even then, at the end of the 1970's, he was putting forward most debatable principles and theories, for example the theory according to which the intelligentsia had assumed power in the socialist countries, and the conflicts within the system derived from the struggle between two wings of the intelligentsia, the political bureaucrats and the technocrats, while the workers were unable to articulate their position. This

wittily presented, very original sounding conception engaged the attention of a certain narrow sphere of those interested in socialist structures; although many even there received it with mistrust, they had never read such a thing.... Hungary is beyond that; who would not know that the intellectuals here do not feel the situation exactly this way; rather, they feel themselves to be set aside.

Then the scene changed. With the eruption of the Polish crisis and then the taking office of the Reagan administration, the ideological debate about the nature of contemporary socialism took on a different character also. With the ever more extreme direction and advance of Solidarity, guided by anti-socialist elements, the internal opposition movements of the socialist countries received a more prominent position in the ranking of imperialist actions.

And the socialism formula of Gyorgy Konrad took on a new role also. It became possible to make timely use of a theory speaking to those sensitive to nuances, and they did not hesitate to do so. Indeed, in March 1981, in a statement made to the Cologne radio, which, of course, Radio Free Europe immediately passed on in Hungarian, Konrad began talking about this. Not long before he had gone to Poland and he made a statement enthusiastically. He saw in the overwhelming conditions of early 1981 (with which I also had occasion to become acquainted on the spot) a sign that "in many respects the class relationships of Poland are more developed than ours." Not concerned with the fact that the cause of renewal, which had become very necessary in Poland also, had been suffocated in anarchy by the opposition, he greeted the appearance of Solidarity as "the appearance on the stage of history of a new sort of worker class which knows how to articulate its interests"; he was filled with joy by what he called "a more advanced stage of intellectual independence" in which the "elite of the intelligentsia proclaimed itself to be non-official," etc., etc.

Certainly this was a thesis which outstandingly served the subversive actions of Kuron and his comrades, but which also fit perfectly into the policy of such "friends of the new worker class" as Ronald Reagan, who, this year in the English parliament, openly called on the West to support the opposition in the socialist countries--the "democratic revolution" as he called it--and bluntly said that "whether this trend continues depends on our behavior," assuring his listeners that the United States would not hesitate to encourage "the democratic development" in these countries. It was in this spirit that he deprived Poland of the so-called most favored nation status, put an embargo on delivery of fodder, proclaimed sanctions in the gas pipeline deal, stands in the way of Polish credit requests, and uses a long list of political and economic pressures against Poland and the Soviet Union.

I do not say that Gyorgy Konrad, subjectively, would have wanted this, would have approved of all this. But he did not see that with such a development of affairs his own positions come into an entirely different system of inter-dependencies, become aids for the aggressive imperialist policy. While he is happy that the Polish intellectual elite "has proclaimed itself to be non-official" he himself has taken a most pronounced official line, only on the other side.

"The Accomplice"--this is the title of Gyorgy Konrad's latest novel. And as we could hear in a recent long radio chat from Washington, he regrets the English translation of the title, because there is no such word in English, a word which would cover the various meanings of the concept of complicity. I have the feeling that this word fits the momentary role of Konrad in every sense. Excepting the expression of Babits ("He who is mute is the accomplice among the guilty"), because Konrad did not become the guilty accomplice by being mute. He is still very talkative; he makes statements with noteworthy zeal.

Indeed, if the press does not ask him he will write an open letter, on his own initiative, as a few weeks ago to the NEW YORK REVIEW, in which he stated that Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and the other spokesmen of the counter-revolutionary organization called KOR, now on trial, are threatened with the danger of being sentenced to death and executed. "I ask the readers of these lines to raise their voices.... Not to believe that bad cannot be followed by worse. No one should imagine that if they kill Kuron and Michnik they will not kill anyone afterwards."

In spirit this hardly differs from how the revived propaganda of the cold war styles the "totalitarian" socialist countries. On what is Konrad's vision built? As he himself says, on mere speculation. "I would be happy," he casually adds, "if I were wrong. I would openly ask indulgence from the Polish Government if they would prove in a convincing way that my dark suspicions are groundless." But until then, only believe what he suggests in his letter!

Konrad, as I have mentioned already, has most recently made a statement in the Hungarian transmission of the Washington radio. The reporter asked him where he had come from and in what status he lives where he lives. We might ask this question also--in a different sense. It appeared from his answer that he had arrived from Budapest with a visitor's passport, since he had received a 10 month scholarship from a West Berlin inter-university foundation, scholarships given to social scientists and writers so that they can write works in progress under "tranquil circumstances." (I think that we are to understand by this not the customary, modest scholarships.) In addition to the West Berlin one he had been offered a few months' scholarship by a New York university also. He has now made an excursion to New York on the occasion of the appearance of the American edition of "The Accomplice."

So we know this, that Konrad has only failed to answer the question about his status--here at home as well as there? Only a few months ago he discussed the writer's existence in a Hungarian journal. And his latest statements in the West fit into the campaigns of the enemy camp in such a way that Radio Free Europe could not bring itself to publish them. It appears that he himself does not know what his status is whether an outsider or an insider. This is a question which he must decide, and he must say--in New York just as in Budapest.

We continue to maintain what has been said before about the opposition: We do not seek a confrontation, but if necessary we will not turn aside from it. As the old Hungarian saying puts it: "As God gives, so will God receive." We

want to follow a policy of patience and tolerance, but we cannot remain silent if, for example, well-meaning men, who frequently have justified or understandable anxieties, are drawn into actions which can only harm even the best cause. Especially among the less experienced there may be those who are deceived by machinations, those who are made to believe that they are acting to improve socialist practice if they protest against this or that, although the chief and most urgent care of the manipulators is to carry some "tidbit" to some western propaganda center with which they can "prove" that the socialism which should be improved is incapable of being improved.

No one is asking from anyone government-issue optimism or head nodding; on the contrary, what we need is an objective, critical attitude, more so today--amidst the growing problems--than yesterday. Working for progress means working for change, and one of the chief tools for this is criticism of what is obsolete. But how can a critic serve the cause of progress if he does not see that he has erred to the side of what is obsolete and opposed to progress?

8984

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NEW SCHOLARSHIP SYSTEM MORE REALISTIC, SAYS OFFICIAL

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Nov 82

[Interview with Andras Korcsog, state secretary in the Ministry of Culture and Education by Laszlo Szabo: "What Grades is the Scholarship System Getting?"--date and place not specified]

[Excerpt] The continuing development of the college and university students' scholarship system, the questions of the real value of scholarships, and the basic forms of student financial support have been the recurring themes for more than a year in debates on youth forums, in newspaper and periodical articles, and in youth discussions. The concerned governing authority of the Party and then the government decided last year that the scholarship system must be modernized, and the allocated government support must be raised by 150 million forints per year. The new scholarship system was worked out this spring, and its practical implementation has just been completed; the new, scholastic and need-based scholarships were awarded for the first time this fall at colleges and universities. The debate over this important social question can now close, since the higher scholarships have significantly improved the living conditions of college and university students. We discussed the lessons and implications with Andras Korcsog, State Secretary of Culture and Education.

[Answer] The Ministry of Culture and Education, using its experiences of the well-known limitations of the former scholarship system and more so the deserved practical judgments of youth organizations and students, assembled the more significant principles and alternative solution models of modernization, and submitted these to public debate. At the youth parliaments, none of our suggestions was found satisfactory, and more radical changes were requested. For example, they objected to the suggestion that only the most important principles and aspects should appear centrally, in the directives of the Minister of Culture and Education, that on this basis each institution should work out its own most suitable scholarship policy, and that in implementation of the policy, the opportunity for student

involvement must be ensured. The students found more equitable and differentiated funding and awarding forms necessary. They also suggested that more emphasis should be placed on other factors that affect the student's mode of life: instead of the mechanical and often misleading income statement, they suggested assessment of the student's actual socio-economic status. As for room and board charges, they requested that those reflect actual costs more accurately, in accordance with economic efforts, so that the amount of state support can be clearer.

[Question] Not everyone accepted the youth recommendations you mentioned in good spirit; there were those who feared an overly loose directive framework, and, since money is the subject, proliferation of local subjective decisions. How do you see this today?

[Answer] The youth observations and the suggestions for a more complete overhaul of the scholarship system proved most useful and fruitful. In reality, the concerns you mentioned were not justified, since they represented a fear that by taking the wishes of democratic youth debate forums into consideration, we would be sacrificing competency. Today, the directives of the Ministry of Culture and Education embody only the most important general principles for scholarship distribution. In this framework, the institutions of higher education have worked out their own scholarship regulations, and the concrete requirements for support. In this manner, a broad opportunity for local determination and implementation of scholarship policy was opened, and not just in principle. For instance, the ministerial directive specifies as a central or national norm only that general scholarships are open to students with a cumulative grade point average of 2.0. The amount of scholarships, also centrally determined, ranges from 200 to 1200 forints per month. At the same time, people's republic scholarships for distinguished academic achievement have been raised from 1200 to 2000 forints. In the case of exceptional achievement, second-year students at three-year institutions can now also receive this scholarship.

[Question] The earlier, centrally-determined income categorization method frequently obscured the true financial situation of some students, especially in cases where the parent's basic wage does not remotely reflect his true earnings. Examples are the gynecologist, the auto mechanic, the waiter, the lawyer or the agricultural cooperative member whose secondary income often exceeds his certified wage or salary by a large amount.

[Answer] For this reason too, the institutions were given a larger role in determining who gets how much social support, or rather, who lives under what real social conditions. Of course, this was only possible through discontinuing the required system of income categorization. Dormitory, meal service and other allowances are uniform, independent of the social situation, and their amount has also risen. The present allowances cover roughly three-fourths of the actual costs, thus the extent of government support is clearer to the students. The unification and increase of room and board charges does not represent a financial disadvantage to the students. Namely, the framework for local social support is increased by the resulting excess income. The usual free services--dormitory placement, cafeteria



lunches and dinners, etc.,--can now be used independently of each other. Earlier, the meal allowance was comprised of a subsidy to the food-service enterprise; now students receive the larger share--75 percent--in cash, so they can decide whether to take their meals in the cafeteria or elsewhere. However, we supply an additional 280 forints per month out of our budget for cafeteria meals alone.

The support distribution method has also been modified. This also helps to alleviate the former inequities. With particular boundaries, specified by their own scholarship regulations, the individual institutions are free to manage the funds as they see fit. It is possible, after local consideration of certain conditions, to determine the students' cash social support in a fixed sum; it is also possible, as in the earlier system, to provide full or partial support--separate room and board allowances on the basis of income categorization.

9890

CSO: 2500/59

PZPR PLANT COMMITTEE SECRETARIES SPEAK ON END OF MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 21, 8 Dec 82 pp 12-13

[Article by Andrzej Wisniewski]

[Text] Numerous facts predict the forthcoming suspension of martial law. In short, despite dramatic tension and varied opposition, normalization is growing. However, how permanent will it be following the suspension of martial discipline, in crises situations, since the crisis will not vanish with the termination of martial law? How will the eventual end of martial law accelerate the solution of the crisis? The response belongs to the entire population, and in particular to the party, especially to its cells which are working directly among the workers. With this in mind, we asked the Polish United Workers' Party Plant Committee secretaries in several large plants on their thoughts concerning what will occur once martial law is suspended.

Stanislaw Korzen, factory committee secretary at the Lenin Iron and Steelworks in Krakow:

The large factories are and will continue to be under the enemy's particular fire. It is not by chance that during the disturbances in Nowa Huta much was said about our personnel. Meanwhile, among the 200 arrested since May of this year, only 17 were our workers. The participants in the disturbances were chiefly the sons of private shopkeepers and the well-to-do. The opposition, however, was interested in a certain plant and therefore attempted to associate the disturbances with our steelworks. The political battle continues. Leaflets, slogans, and pressure continue.

Prior to 10 November, the political underground and Radio Free Europe exercised great pressure upon the workers. Although the workers do not support that which exists, nevertheless they did not allow themselves to be dragged out into the streets. The people in general are fed up with regularly appearing disturbances. They wish to live peacefully, work, and count on improvement. General Jaruzelski's visit radically changed our situation for the better. If the party line, which of late has been consistent is retained, there will be no disturbances following the suspension of martial law.

Perhaps such incidents will appear here and there; however, they will not meet with any response. I do not see the possibility of a return to the pre-martial law state, or mass meetings, or rallies and strikes. The people have realized that strikes are costly. Besides we have calculated the costs of a one-hour strike for us at each work station. All foremen, directors, and departmental party organization secretaries possess these figures. These statistics assist them in their efforts at maintaining order, the costs involved in the loss of every worker run into many thousands.

Speaking about figures, I will say that the basic threat for us following the suspension of martial law will be the possibility for large numbers of workers to leave the steelworks. Militarization keeps them here currently, however, following its repeal they will go where they can earn better wages. First and foremost to cooperatives, service and craft industries. At the same time in order for the steelworks to operate at the present level, a minimum of 2,600 new workers are needed, in general we are over 4,000 workers short.

Therefore, we felt that certain measures should be retained once martial law is suspended. I know that this proposition will be misinterpreted by the workers. Undoubtedly, solutions must be sought not through discipline but in economics. I will therefore say that the factory has initiated reform, and its effects are already visible. We have estimated, however, that if the instituted reforms are not disrupted and projected proposals come into existence, especially those concerning taxation, the steelworks needs the first nine months of next year to regain its footing.

At this time the employment problem should decrease in significance, since we will have secured competitive salaries. We will not achieve this economic minimum, however, if people decide to leave earlier. In sum, in squaring of the circle, how to overcome it? After all we understand that people need to earn more, and have the right to go where they can obtain this. We understand that the maintenance of militarization temporarily will not increase approbation of us. However, we cannot forget that a decrease in employment will result in a production decline.

I am presenting the problem in plain terms. As a party organization, we present all problems in such a manner. We attach great importance to this public life. It is a firm principle that the plant committee first secretary who is also a Central Committee member carries out consultations before and after every Central Committee plenum. The information that we receive we do not conceal within the plant committee, it is given outright to the departmental party organization secretaries. We also present to the lower levels copies of information which we as the plant committee send to the top. We also look to see that party schooling serves the purpose of honest transmittal of information.

Lately, we have carried out in the course of a few days, meetings of the entire factory party organization with a Politburo member, members and workers of the Central Committee, Krakow committee secretaries, and Krakow mayor's office representatives. There was no lack of severe questions, people were able to express themselves, and at the same time obtain answers at first hand. Many matters, doubts, and rumors were cleared up. We will continue these meetings for the entire work force. They are a form of democracy.

We have numerous good working methods which we will implement following martial law suspension. Above all we are continually endeavoring to recognize human feelings and complaints. For example, we are systematically carrying out factory committee executive board meetings with management participation directly in production units. Decisions are quickly made in matters which have not been settled for many months. We settle the accomplishment of proposals and tasks consistently and publicly. Thanks to this openness, we can preclude many situations.

We expect that the termination of martial law will relieve us of many tasks which we undertook out of necessity, and some which the party should not in fact be concerned with in normal situations. We will have more time for animated, supervisory, and educational work. This is very necessary, and all the more possible since our basic party organizations are being strengthened. We estimate that three-fourths of them have already regained their footing.

Meetings are occurring with frequency, and discussions are more mature which, however, does not mean that they are any less heated. Today, people know more and are capable of reaching their own conclusions. For example, they demand party leadership participation in meetings, even those of departmental party organizations, thus demonstrating the desire for the establishment of party subjectivity. The most important factor, however, is that more companions in contact with friends at work or with area neighbors are beginning to acknowledge their party membership, and are defending the party against attacks. Thus, a psychological turning-point appears to be coming about, and this is especially precious.

Stanislaw Boniecki, factory committee first secretary at the Kasprzak Radio Plant in Warsaw:

Martial law is not evident at the factory. We, however, did everything possible so that it would not be visible. Immediately after 13 December, revanchist movements appeared, but we combatted them successfully. Because of martial law we made party membership an acid test, remembering that martial law is not an achievement after 37 years of socialism. The suspension of martial law will not change our work. It will not become any easier, or any more difficult. Admittedly, there are antagonistic leaflets and slogans, but the workers have simply had enough.

The plant is militarized, but we do not fear demilitarization. We did not maintain employment artificially. Anyone who wished to leave was able to do so. We do not then expect a sudden loss of workers. We do have certain wage incentives, however, the wage situation is not the best. There have been raises since the plant has had profits, but at the same time expenditures for upkeep are increasing. As regards salaries, we also take care so as not to bring about inflation. I believe that this is also a very important task for the post-martial law period.

Following martial law suspension, matters relating to economic reform will be of uppermost importance. There exists a slogan which states that "reform must be present at every work station." The slogan is catchy, and volatile

yet erroneous. The worker must simply be given work and appropriate remuneration. He comes to the factory to work and if he is presented with a well-organized job he will then put in a good eight-hour day. Therefore, the reform is necessary above all in the realm of management and organization.

It appears that the reform is being carried out by individuals who know what to do. I am thinking here about Minister Baka's team.

While anxiety and paresis exist on the intermediate management level. The cadre on this level has not changed. It cannot come to decisions, has no ingenuity, and is fearful of any independence. The party must concern itself resolutely with this following martial law suspension.

Even distribution of the costs of the crisis is also important. This is not the cost of reform, but that of the crisis. The workers are angered by the fact that certain groups of people are enriching themselves as a result of the crisis. Thus questions arise as to whether the party does actually represent the interests of the workers, also the fact that it is not known whom the party protects. It will be unfortunate if this matter is not settled. Here it concerns simply a matter of an appropriate national taxation policy.

People desire consistent action. They desire the maintenance of a policy and the settlement of one matter after another. Today it is difficult for the people to live. Admittedly, the food situation has improved, but there are no shoes, there is no clothing, and numerous other things. Therefore, it is essential to avoid a return to the "propaganda of success." It is necessary to state that the situation is difficult, to say when it will be better, and to adhere to announced time-limits. Here, I am quoting the voices heard at party meetings.

Currently we are terminating our reporting campaign. Meetings are proceeding normally and frequently. We have obligated all departmental party organization executive boards to carry out a secret ballot regarding a vote of confidence. Up to this time all have received this vote of confidence, this demonstrates a positive appraisal of our party work. We are carrying out party work in a better-organized manner. The most important element for the present and following martial law suspension is permanent informal contact with the workers.

Against this background, I will touch upon the matter of contacts with companions from all party echelons. We have no difficulty in inviting someone from the Central Committee. Politburo and Central Committee department chairmen have already been here. Some of them maintain constant contact with us. It is much worse with those from the voivodship committees and city district committees. If we invite them they come, however, it rarely occurs that anyone comes on his own initiative, simply to drop in and chat.

They somehow do not understand how important it is for the worker to be able to see and listen to the voivodship committee and city district committee secretaries speaking as normal individuals without a set speech, without pomp,

and without the chairman's table, etc. It appears as though they have not perceived the need for a reduction of formalities in the party. We see these needs. I would not delay this until martial law suspension.

Slawomir Starzykowski, factory committee first secretary at the Buczek Iron and Steelworks in Sosnowiec:

Immediately after 13 December we saw no way out of martial law. Now we are simply coming out. The political underground lost. After all, our opposition began to lose even before 13 December. We did everything possible to reach agreement, yet we could not permit extremist actions. Therefore an acute political battle ensued. The opposition did not spare us, and we in turn did not spare them. We as a party organization were not beaten in this battle.

The real problem, however, was that the workforce became fragmented. A confused mosaic of views emerged. Bonds between people weakened. There was even an increase in the divorce rate. It was martial law which delineated the limits of fragmentation and deprivation, and informed the people that former Solidarity political agitators had misled them. Yet it is not easy to extricate oneself from such situations. Today at the steelworks we have such a level of normalization that it is possible to suspend martial law, however, I immediately ask what type of political assistance will I be provided with.

I see the need for the maintenance of a defensive reflex within the party. This comes down to the maintenance of openness, a readiness to take up heated and even aggressive political encounters, and the restoration of emotional ties. The most important and most difficult task concerns these ties. Indeed, there are no longer any individuals among us who intentionally and premeditatedly divide the party from within, yet a considerable mosaic of views still remains. Thus the need for intelligent schooling exists, schooling that is comprehended as not being confrontational but serving as a permanent element of the political game.

There exists a need for serious discussion within the basic party organization and gradually with the entire labor force, concerning party policy, its principles, assumptions, and goals. People should be given political, economic, and historical schooling. This schooling should be presented without any omissions. Honest discussion is the best education. It is especially necessary to demonstrate the goals clearly since the agent binding emotional ties is in fact represented by joint goals and the desire to accomplish them jointly.

It is not a question of embellishment of reality. I fear that we will once again show society as a monolith, that we will again begin to pretend that problems do not exist. We must depict the different views and interests which in fact exist in each workforce, among factories and regions, groups and social classes, as well as within the working class and the party. This should not be concealed nor blurred. Instead, against this background it is necessary to demonstrate that which binds.



Current information is a very important matter. There appears to be an improvement in the information we obtain from above, however, it still is not the best. It is still not anticipatory. There still are no political analyses. In spite of great improvements, openness of life is still too restricted. The consultative system at Central Committee plenums is too narrow, not to mention that of lower party echelons. Information concerning the activities of intermediate levels is poor. It is not known what they concern themselves with, and thus the public comes to the conclusion that they do nothing.

In our organization we established a complete system for obtaining honest and anticipatory information. We constantly encourage candid discussion, even the most unpleasant. We have brought about the fact that the departmental party organization secretaries are better aware and more quickly acquainted with the situation in the factories than the administration. Thanks to this they have become partners, often they are disliked by the management, but are always treated seriously. This confirms the fact that the one who is in charge of information is the one with power.

Therefore, from this point of view, I reflect upon how the present flow of information among the levels of authority appears. Is falsification not returning? The military has assisted, but once it departs danger might return. At the factory we have taken over the supervisory control from the military. As a party organization we supervise the entire scope of a given matter, and simultaneously supervise all the interested parties. The social committee inspired by us is proceeding likewise. The effects are quite good, even though the supervised are angered by it.

The entire system of supervision in the nation should be based upon this same principle, especially party supervision, that which is established by party echelons and organizations for every day. This in fact concerns the said party defense reflex, it concerns anticipatory perception of threats, it concerns systematic adherence to truth, that law and order are not derived from this, sanctions exist, and yet the inevitability of submitting to sanctions exists.

There is yet another element which needs to be retained following martial law suspension. I am thinking about the leaders' meetings with the public. Recently this has been initiated. Our workers were quite surprised at General Jaruzelski's visit to Nowa Huta; by the very fact that the visit was possible, and all the more so by its progress, and by the general's talks with the workers. This aided us greatly in our party work, since it had a positive influence upon attitudes.

Unfortunately, those on the intermediate party levels do not organize such meetings. They appear to be either unable to, or afraid of talking with the workers. Perhaps they are not aware that truth is what the public perceives truth to be; thus it can be influenced, changed, but first one must recognize it. Without this there can be no discussion of influence upon sensibilities, nor even more so concerning the establishment of emotional bonds.

Andrzej Kozik, factory committee first secretary at the Janina Mine in Libiaz:

People say that martial law is not visible. But the situation is like a river, on the surface there is a calm current, while underneath there are whirlpools. We will never achieve 100 percent consensus. I believe, therefore that we should suspend martial law without hesitation. In any case that is how I view the situation in my coal mine. Independently of various attitudes, people wish above all to work, earn money, and lead a better existence.

With this in mind, we as a party organization have become involved in production matters. We are scrupulously keeping an eye on this, and with good results. Halfway through last year we were still below in our extraction plan, however, by the end of the year we were well above our plan. This year we have even greater increases and output growth. Wages have also increased. It is not accidental that party meeting discussions concerning economic matters are quite heated and productive. People are simply looking out for their jobs.

I believe that this is the only way, no sudden efforts, just well organized normal work. This must be based upon economic mechanisms. Certainly the poorest must be taken care of, but rather in such a manner that they would be employed, and earning wages, rather than through public testimony. The young particularly must be taught about life without protective mechanisms. Teaching them to respect the laws is also important, since many today think chiefly about how to get around the law and do what is forbidden.

People can be convinced. Wise reasoning substantiated by facts receives a good response. I meet few who do not accept logical and wise reasoning. Nevertheless black cannot be called white. The truth must be told. We in the party lack the skills and habit of speaking to the public, as a rule, in a normal manner. We must be activists and not party bureaucrats.

Albin Hajduk, factory committee first secretary at the Warynski Factory in Warsaw:

After August each work force and each Basic Party Organization had its own particular path. Therefore I do not wish to generalize. From the point of view of the situation in our own plant, suspension of martial law appears possible. Our workers are cautious. We did everything in our power not to divide the workers, and we succeeded. There is no fragmentation, at least not in basic matters. We are living through martial law relatively easily. It is not insignificant that we as a party organization are constantly looking ahead.

We are initiating economic reform. In order for the reform to reach all work levels, we are preparing data on financial independence for the sections. Besides we are watching over the entire economic situation of the plant, since otherwise the party has no reason to exist in the plant. Currently we are tidying up the material economy. We have already succeeded in decreasing many of the losses. We also take care of personnel matters. Almost nothing occurs in the plant without our participation.

We are preparing ourselves for the renewal of worker self-government, which throughout the whole period was functioning as a consultative council. Likewise the social committee is well thought of by the workers, though its early stages were difficult. A union initiative group has currently emerged from it. Consequently, I believe that tensions should not return following martial law suspension. It is difficult, however, to predict how the opposition and those who have just calmed down will react.

I also do not know how our party members would react were the opposition to act harshly. Unequivocally, the workers blame the party for the crisis. We say that it is time to stop blaming the party. Yet a year and a half of a lack of self-restraint has left deep imprints in our consciousness. Discussions at meetings are very difficult. It is difficult to motivate the masses to act. We continue to use our party members, however, even these party members are not a homogeneous body. The party cells must be well organized to motivate the masses. Good intentions do not suffice. The principle which states that if you can count, count upon yourself does not suffice. We have launched a one year social studies course, and are endeavoring to attract good lecturers, however, there are so few of them available. Today, the sorting out of people's beliefs is not an easy task. In fact certain television programs do not assist in this endeavor as they are permeated by embarrassing, primitive explanations. The facts and justifications must be presented to the public which will then reach its own conclusion.

We are also hurt by the lack of support given to us by the higher party echelons, and not excluding the Central Committee. Symptoms are present which indicate that changes are coming about, however, party authorities need to visit the factories more frequently. Not as if one were coming in response to a fire, but on a constant basis. They have already learned a great deal, yet they still cannot overcome their reactionary reflexes. Consistency is essential. All too often something begins well but fails to end in this manner. In the meantime if something is said, it must be accounted for. For us this is already the norm, since the workers do not let us get away with anything. It is worthwhile to recognize the workers' attitudes and take them under consideration while making a decision.

The opinions noted here do not allow for generalizations. They do, however, provide an insight into the spirit of the workers' party organizations, and the nascent manner in which they view reality and the party's tasks. This is by no means a homogeneous picture, however, the strengthening of the party collectives and the reestablishment of their authority is quite evident. For obvious reasons this is not happening in an effortless manner. Ultimately, however, seeing one's own weaknesses serves as the proper nucleus for regeneration.

Undoubtedly here the party emerges, above all, critical of itself. It is aware of the nature of the political battle being waged. It understands the entanglements which the public is subjected to, and is thus in favor of winning the public over by means of a dialogue. It is seeking ways and methods to establish ties with the public. It is well aware of its responsibility for, as well as its triumph over the crisis. It is establishing its leading role.

Is this a bad response to the question: What will follow the suspension of martial law?

ORZECZOWSKI ADDRESSES PRON SESSION

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[Speech by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski at the 17 December Warsaw session of the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth: "Great Opportunity for Poland and for Poles"]

[Excerpts] The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], which is considered, not without good reason, to be a great opportunity for Poland and Poles, which is an ever-young movement and which is gradually and not without difficulty fashioning contemporary Poland's ideological and political image, has gone through three stages of growth. The initial stage consisted of the crystallization and first embodiment of the idea of national rebirth, such as the movement of Citizens Committees for National Rebirth [OKON], which took place between the proclamation of martial law and the publication of the declaration on the movement for national rebirth. The second stage consisted of the organization of voivodship structures and of the Initiating Commission, which is regarded as the transition to the third stage of the movement, marked not only by continuing organization, but also by activities to produce new irreversible achievements and facts. Public opinion, which is still divided with regard to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and which is displaying varying degrees of acceptance of its ideas, principles and opportunities, is aware that the movement has produced facts that are important socially and politically.

As a driving force for changes and as a platform of agreement, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is an advisory body which cooperates as a partner with state agencies, parties and other sociopolitical organizations. The movement is not a "party for nonparty people." It is not a state agency, does not take over the functions of state agencies and is not an association with the formalized structures and criteria of individual membership and with homogeneous ideological precepts. The movement is an independent and self-governing community, which unites men and women, classes, groups and milieus and fully maintains their identity. This is the movement's policy vis-a-vis political parties, sociopolitical organizations and state agencies. The movement follows the principle of voluntariness and openness vis-a-vis all citizens and organizations that share its principles as expressed in the declaration of 20 July 1982.

As an expression of organized public opinion, the movement is thus able to mediate in the conflicts between the power apparatus and society and between individual groups of people.

The political parties and social and political organizations are active within the movement through their members, who conduct their activities in the movement on the principles of partnership and complete equality.

As a social movement which aids the socialist political system, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth wants to participate in drawing up programs for socioeconomic development, in promoting civic accord and in fostering civic attitudes of social and political-moral responsibility.

Our movement is not being organized in a political vacuum. It is being organized under specific conditions, which means that its organization is determined by existing conditions. Its aspiration and aim is to help shape these conditions in line with the changes in the consciousness and attitudes of social groups and communities, which can and should cooperate with the movement and build it up.

We hear voices of criticism on various sides. Sometimes this criticism is friendly, creative and helpful to our movement, but most of the time it is averse and even hostile. We are being told that the movement is politically too narrow and that it has not stretched its hand to everyone. Do we have to stretch our hand also to the open enemies of Poland and socialism and to those who oppose us by choice and want to be our adversaries? Do we have to again start creating fiction and appearances of some new "moral-political unity" and of the thesis that "one Pole is united with another Pole?" We are also being told that our movement is a facade and a "new edition of the old National Unity Front?" These opinions about a "new edition" express ordinary indifference to many declarations issued by the sponsors of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and of the National Unity Front, stress the principle that it is bad for the facts if they contradict one's theories and herald the political intention to set the movement apart from the permanent values of the National Unity Front and from the thousands and thousands of social activists who have devoted part of their lives to it. Let us bear in mind--ignoring whatever flows from ferocious hatred of socialism, from alien radio stations, although they broadcast in the Polish language, from anonymous letters, sentences of death, attempts at blackmail and so on directed at those who are connected with the movement--that all this criticism contains few constructive ideas and proposals. Aside from nebulous wishes that are out of tune with the present times, no one has submitted any real alternatives.

The political activities to build and consolidate the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth should concentrate on two issues, apart from previously listed issues: winning young people and sounding out public opinion and moods as prerequisites for the movement's effective performance.

Young people's participation in the movement is still insufficient, although the movement offers special opportunities for young generations to act militantly in favor of their own future. In order to increase young people's participation and role in the movement, it is necessary, among other things:

- 1) to win for the movement outstanding athletes, leaders of artistic groups ("idols") and young prominent workers, farmers and intellectuals, for whom the movement can create opportunities for major social activities;
- 2) to ensure the necessary participation of young people in all structures of the movement;
- 3) to promote activities of youth organizations in the movement for the sake of the movement.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth can and should become a platform for studying and shaping public opinion on the fundamental issues of the state and society. This is why it is necessary to set up a Center for Social Research and Analysis within the Provisional National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. It is also necessary to step up efforts to set up the movement's periodical.

As for the coordination of the work done by the voivodship structures of the movement, it should be stressed that the Provisional National Council does not exercise authority over local echelons, which are autonomous vis-a-vis the council. This is why there must be no management by command. The point is to coordinate and not to administer. The point is to suggest proposals for possible lines of programmatic work and for ways to solve problems.

This is because the movement wants to leave genuinely full independence and initiative to those who want to act. It is of no importance what name and what organizational forms are assumed by a group of people who band together to work, to implement specific tasks and to discuss important problems. The point is that such a group is able to do its work in line with the program it regards as correct. Nor is there any regulation that says that all the signatories to the movement's declaration must be represented on the Citizens' Committees of National Rebirth, which are the movement's basic echelons. The simple issue is the fact that there are people who want to commit themselves to the problems that are most important from the viewpoint of the public and the country, regardless of where these people hail from.

The Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth need assistance in their activities, but their initiatives should not be hindered. Such assistance is the only road to rehabilitating the status and value of activities for the good of society and of the profound meaning of these activities. At the same time, the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth and the provisional structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth have the absolute discretion to accept various suggestions, advice and so on. Such advice and suggestions include the right and duty to point to dangerous trends asserting themselves in the process of the movement's development, to the ways of avoiding such trends and to the models of activities worthy of propagation.

As for assisting the local echelons of the movement, the main point is to create conditions favorable to implementing grassroots initiatives, including intervention in cases that are considered to require direct pressure on those to whom proposals have been made.

With regard to propagating the achievements of the movement and its echelons and activists and with regard to fostering a social image of the movement, aside from the basic task--that is, the task of presenting the movement to public opinion as a movement that is active and creative and that searches for new areas of activity--it is necessary to pay special attention to:

--stressing the plurality, including regional plurality, of the organization and structure of the movement, of the action programs and so on;

--explaining the nature of such terms as "the rebirth of the people," "repairing the republic," "socialist renewal" and "repairing the state";

--countering the various attempts to debase the meaning of "patriotism" and explaining the greatness and meaning of patriotism and the terms connected with it, ("national pride," "national dignity," "the greatness of the people" and so on).

It is necessary to use for propaganda purposes the passage of the declaration on the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth of 20 July 1982 that states that the movement does not lay claims to a monopoly on patriotism. In this connection, it is necessary to explain the historical and contemporary meaning of patriotism, its manifestations and so on.

It is necessary to resist the concept of rebirth as a typical form of negotiations with various opposing forces. It is necessary to resist "basic agreement," "the guaranteed accord" between the power apparatus and society, and so on.

As for the other aim of the movement--its consolidation within the Polish political system--three groups of tasks should be stressed:

It is necessary to continue contacts between the Initiating Commission and the state authorities at the central, voivodship and local levels. These contacts should be extended to sociopolitical organizations because they help create conditions favorable for the movement's development. The area of activity in this regard is enormous: consultations on Sejm bills, resolutions of people's councils and decisions made by the government and administration; cooperation with people's councils; drawing up civic inquiries addressed to the administrative apparatus; public meetings with ministers, governors, head officials and so on.

It is necessary to take specific initiatives in order to solve political, economic and social problems (this is a continuation of the practice begun by the Initiating Commission), of which there is an abundance in every village, rural parish, town and voivodship. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth may become a champion of the struggle against red tape and disregarding people and their problems, and for efficient administration, which looks after state and public interests.

For objective reasons, the power apparatus is not always able effectively to combat some negative phenomena (such as profiteering). This gives rise to rumors that it is weak and ineffective. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth can remedy this, addressing the necessary tasks to all people.



The movement's presence can be most valuable in areas such as:

--culture (for example, setting up the national library and social control over publishing plans);

--education (educational councils in higher schools and academies);

--learning (teaching programs);

--health and social care;

--implementation of reforms (the movement's echelons in enterprises continue to assess the economic reform, for example).

Finally, the movement may promote information for the public about matters that interest all the people.

We are witnessing an important moment in the development of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which has become a great cause and a great opportunity for Poles. It is our duty to exploit this opportunity to the fullest.

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ELENA CEAUSESCU CONFERENCE ADDRESS

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[Text] Bucharest, 18 Dec (AGERPRES)--On December 17, taking the floor in the plenum of the national conference of the RCP, Elena Ceausescu pointed out that the programmes and problems making the object of the conference were of greatest importance for the country's economic and social development at present.

Expressing full agreement with the report and documents on the agenda, Elena Ceausescu brought to the fore the results succeeded by the Romanian people in the first two years of the present five-year plan, the important successes in the fields of science, education and culture. Showing the scientific and technological research to have focused on enhancement and updating of the material production, on a better capitalization of the raw and auxiliary materials, enhancement of quality and diversification of products, Elena Ceausescu mentioned that over 1981-1982 the new and up-dated products stood for over 20 percent of the industrial marketable production.

Mentioning that over the next period the scientific research is called upon to solve important problems related particularly to the production of new materials and technologies, to the assimilation of new products, machines and pieces of equipment of superior technical and economic features, needed by the national economy, Elena Ceausescu said that the programmes for next year stipulate assimilation of over 800 new and up-dated products, application of more than 400 new and improved technologies, as also turning out of a small production by the scientific research and technological engineering units, worth some 3.6 billion lei.

Research in particular, she said, must focus on a more rapid enhancement of the national base of energy and raw materials, on dressing of mineral substances, or more marked, complex and complete capitalization of the potential reserves, those found at great depth or having poorer contents of useful substance included. Elena Ceausescu highlighted inter alia that the interests of the national economy required that research institutes should intensify their efforts and find quicker solutions to the problems related to the practical use of the new sources of energy.

At the same time the scientific research must pay greater attention to solving all the problems related to the peaceful use of the nuclear energy, in the field of rapid reactors, materials and equipment for the nuclear electric stations

included in view of implementing the nuclear programme under the best of circumstances.

Special attention is to be paid to improving the technologies and design of certain products in view of substantially reducing the consumption of energy and fuels, particularly in energy-guzzling branches.

In all the branches of the national economy action must be taken for a sustained promotion of the technical and scientific progress, for assimilation, up-dating and renewal of production, for designing new highly productive materials, machines and pieces of equipment, paying special attention at the same time to enhancing labour productivity, to standardization, to norming consumptions and improving the economic efficiency.

Next, Elena Ceausescu referred to the tasks incumbent on scientific research in the field of chemistry, as it is expected to solve sooner problems concerning the supply of all the chemical products and substances needed by the national economy.

Generally speaking, in the ensuing years there must be implemented entirely the programmes for ensuring the materials needed by the nuclear industry, electronics, aviation and other sectors of activity. At the same time Elena Ceausescu reviewed the targets of research in the field of metallurgy, machine building, agriculture, science, in the domain of fundamental sciences, of chemistry, physics, mathematics, biology and other scientific disciplines that should open new ways to knowledge, to the broad promotion of the gains of modern technological and scientific revolution. In the current development stage, when science has an important role to play in the general progress of society, in the settlement and overcoming of the problems facing contemporary mankind, Romanian science has to act in full sense of responsibility, more powerfully rallying all forces in the decisive directions for the homeland's socioeconomic progress, ensuring the still stronger increase of science to the general development of socialist society, its contribution to the gains of world science, she said stressing that it was necessary that the strong detachment of over 220,000 researchers and other working people in scientific research act in a new, revolutionary spirit and ensure, together with all working people, with the whole nation the ever more active participation in the carrying through of the RCP programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and advance to communism.

Likewise, we will have to develop broad international collaboration with the research institutes in the CEMA countries, in all socialist countries as well as with institutes in other states, irrespective of social system.

Stressing that more heed should be paid to developing the education, to moulding and training the cadres based on everything that is most up-to-date and progressive in science and technology, in human cognition, to the ever closer integration of school with production and research, Elena Ceausescu said:

We have strong human forces, a powerful base of research and every condition for the Romanian research to fulfil in the best of conditions the greatly responsible role in the attainment of a new quality of work and life, in our homeland's passage to a new development stage, in ensuring the socioeconomic development and continuously raising the people's material and spiritual welfare.

Mentioning that the national conference's agenda also includes problems of theoretical activity and political-ideological work, in view of better grasping the new phenomena emerging with the country's advance on the road of socialism and communism and with the revolutionary transformations in international life, Elena Ceausescu considered that this calls for greater heed to be paid to the intensification of scientific research in the domain of social sciences and ideological activity, domains of utmost importance for the moulding and education of the new man, based on dialectical and historical materialism, on the party's revolutionary conception.

Referring in the last section of her speech to aspects of the international activity, Elena Ceausescu said inter alia:

On a world plane there is a wide movement of peoples against war, against the policy of arming--nuclear arming in the first place--for safeguarding the right of all nations to a free, dignified existence, to peace. Scientists and men of culture in various countries participate actively in these mass movements, aware of the great danger generated by the policy of arming.

In the framework the committee "scientists and peace" will have to further initiate and carry out large actions, to join and support consistently all the initiatives aimed at disarmament, at halting the dangerous course of events towards tension and war. We must do everything so that, alongside the entire people, the Romanian scientists and men of culture may participate more and more in the efforts made for the implementation of these vital desiderata of mankind, for the promotion of the ideals of collaboration and peace, of the cause of detente and understanding among peoples.

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ROMANIA

'SCINTEIA' CALLS FOR CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT IN MADRID

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['SCINTEIA' on Need for Constructive Spirit To Prevail at Madrid Reunion"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 19 Nov (AGERPRES)--Nearly two weeks after the resumption of proceedings at the Madrid reunion once again, stronger than ever before, is a manifest need for a domination of the constructive spirit, for a focussing of the participants' attention on the essential problems of the reunion, first of all on making final the mandate of the conference on confidence-building and disarmament measures in Europe and on ensuring continuity to the Helsinki-started process. This--'SCINTEIA' stressed in a commentary published on November 18--are also the lines of action promoted by Romania, that alongside the other participant states is resolved to do everything for concluding in positive results the Madrid forum, in tune with the interests of peace and security of all the peoples on the continent.

Considering that it is still early to anticipate the evolution of the reunion, to see clearly whether dialogue and the spirit of negotiations is to prevail over confrontation and useless polemics that dominated the previous stages, the newspaper notes that although various opinions have been forwarded in relations to the content of the draft final document presented by the neutral and nonaligned countries, the belief that the document should further make the base for negotiations was unanimous.

The worsening international situation, the permanent character gained by the hotbeds of conflict in various parts of the world, the diminishing confidence among states and the rocketing arms race, nuclear arms race in particular, are unfortunately reverberated also in this stage of the reunion, inclusive in the different approaches to some problems and to the ways of solving them, notes the newspaper mentioning that the fact that representatives of certain NATO countries brought to the fore problems inherent to the states' sovereignty was criticised in the addresses of several delegations, and on those occasions there were rejected all attempts of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. A series of amendments revealed again a limited, narrow vision on the human rights, that tends to make priority certain insignificant aspects, that overlooks the truly fundamental rights of the human person, such as the right to work and the right to life, concludes 'SCINTEIA.'

DECREE ON DEPARTMENT FOR CONTRACTING FOR, PURCHASING, STORING FARM PRODUCTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 103, 13 Nov 82 pp 3-6

[Decree of the Council of State on the Establishment, Organization and Operation of the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania hereby decrees:

Chapter I. General Provisions.

Article 1. This decree establishes the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products, a central body of state administration, subordinate to the Council of Ministers, in charge of implementing the party and state policy in the area of forming, taking over, storing and putting to good use the state fund of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds, and also storing the state reserve for agricultural food products.

Article 2. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is answerable, in its capacity as a plan coordinator, for completing the plan on forming, taking over, storing and putting to good use the state fund of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds, and also the plan on the state reserve for agricultural food products.

Article 3. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is organized and shall operate on the basis of self-management and economic-financial self-administration, as a legal entity, in conformance with the legal provisions on the organization and management of ministries and the other state central bodies.

Article 4. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products shall cooperate with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, with other ministries and central bodies, and also with the local organs, for the purpose of completing its duties.

Chapter II

Duties

Article 5. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products, mainly, shall complete the duties stated in this decree.

#### A. On Forming the State Fund of Grain and Industrial Crops

Article 6. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is responsible for the formation of the state fund of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds, and for this purpose:

- a. It organizes and ensure the conclusion of contracts with socialist agricultural units and other producers, for delivery of products to the state fund;
- b. It supervises, through its representatives, the material base of contracts for delivery to the state fund, the location of crops and cultivation of the surfaces planned, the ensuring and utilization of seeds from varieties and hybrids with superior biological features, the completion, in compliance with the law, of agricultural works -- soil preparation, planting during the optimal period, meeting density requirements, fertilization with natural and chemical fertilizer according to the schedule, combating of diseases, pests and weeds, maintenance of crops;
- c. It cooperates with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry in effecting the assessment of the productions of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds and in developing the projects of balances for these products, for the purpose of complete realization of the state fund;
- d. It cooperates with the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry in organizing the harvesting of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds, through its representatives, so that the transportation and delivery of the products meant for the state fund be prioritized.
- e. It assures full takeover of the grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds that are delivered to the state fund under contracting for and purchasing, of those owed to the stations for mechanization of agriculture, as payment in kind for operations performed for agricultural production cooperatives and other producers, and also of the tithes owed for grinding services.

Article 7. Whenever deficiencies are found in regard to crop technologies, the department representatives notify the proper agricultural organs, for taking the necessary measures; in cases when the necessary measures are not taken and consequently conditions for meeting the contractual obligations are not ensured, the user unit that takes over the farm products requests the Bank for Agriculture and Food Industry to stop the crediting, under the law.

#### B. On Storing Grain and Industrial Crops

Article 8. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is responsible for receiving and storing grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds, and for this purpose:

- a. It correspondingly organizes the receiving centers and the storing areas, assuring the quantitative and qualitative inspection of farm products, under the legal provisions;
- b. It assures inspection, storing, conditioning and conservation of farm products;



c. It monitors the completion of tasks on purchase of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds from the population by the units of cooperatives for production, purchase and marketing of goods and supervises the way in which these units store and keep the products;

d. It supervises and is responsible for the qualitative and sanitary condition of the products stored and takes measures to avoid any loss or depreciation.

#### C. On Marketing Grain and Industrial Crops

Article 9. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is responsible for the marketing of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds, and for this purpose:

a. It assures the delivery of products from the state fund and verifies the utilization of these products according to the purposes stated under the plan; it proposes measures to reduce consumption rates and to economize farm products;

b. It ensures the delivery of exportable farm products, on schedule and under the terms specified under foreign contracts;

c. It supervises and takes steps for strictly meeting legal provisions in regard to transportation and marketing of grain;

d. It supervises in agricultural production units the meeting of purposes of production, as specified under balances, and takes over to the state fund the availabilities undeclared;

e. It organizes and is responsible for the evidence of all the quantity of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds from the state fund and takes measures to assure the integrity of this fund.

#### D. On Forming and Storing the State Reserve of Agricultural Food Products

Article 10. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is responsible for forming and storing the state reserve of agricultural food products, and for this purpose:

a. It ensures the accumulation in state reserves of agricultural food products that are needed for efficiently and promptly meeting some needs of the national economy;

b. It works out proposals on the list, levels, minimum stocks, annual and long-range plans for forming state reserves of agricultural food products;

c. It plans and coordinates the activity for territorial distribution, storing, conservation and replenishment of state reserves of agricultural food products;

d. It assesses the proposals of ministries and the other central bodies of state administration on removal, as a loan or on a final basis, of some quantities of agricultural food products;

- e. It ensures the integrity and preservation of the qualitative characteristics of state reserves of agricultural food products and specifies storing periods and takes measures for replenishment;
- f. It issues mandatory instructions on state reserves of agricultural food products stored in subordinate units and also in units subordinate to ministries and the other central bodies of state administration;
- g. It proposes the construction of storing facilities in accordance with the rate of increase in the stocks of state reserves of agricultural food products and the sensible utilization of existing storing facilities;
- h. It cooperates with the specialized study and research institutes for the purpose of establishing storing conditions for long periods of time and for conservation of state reserves of agricultural food products;
- i. It works out the income and expense budget, for the purpose of financing the formation and administration of state reserves and completion of investment projects.

#### E. Other Duties

Article 11. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products also has the following duties:

- a. It participates in the formulation of the draft of the uniform national plan for socioeconomic development in the area of establishing the state fund of grain, leguminous plants and oil seeds, and also the state reserve of agricultural food products;
- b. It works out the drafts of its own, annual and long-range, plans and assigns the economic and financial plan indicators to the various subordinate units;
- c. It is responsible for meeting the consumption rates for raw materials, supplies and fuel, takes measures to continuously cut consumption rates for materials, energy and labor, assures the recovery and utilization of reusable material resources;
- d. It develops the technical-economic documentations for investment projects; it organizes and guides the completion of investment projects and is responsible for meeting the schedules for completion of the facilities planned;
- e. It develops proposals for standardization and upgrading of storing areas, equipment and machines for inspection, conditioning and storing of farm products;
- f. It works out proposals for state standards and also provisions and rates for the quality of products on its list, procedures for storing, conditioning, preservation and conservation of these products;
- g. It is responsible for the activity of organizing production and work in subordinate units; it approves uniform work provisions and standards in its area of activity;

- h. It analyzes the balances and periodical reports of subordinate units and works out those that pertain to the activity of all the department;
- i. It is concerned with integrating technical advancements into subordinate units and guides the activity of inventions and innovations;
- j. It ensures the implementation of the party and state policy in matters of planning, recruitment and professional training and remuneration of the work force;
- k. It takes steps in the area of labor safety, in order to prevent work accidents and occupational diseases;
- l. It annually determines the proportion from the incomes of subordinate units to cover its own expenses;
- m. It fulfills any other duties stated by law.

### Chapter III. Organization and Operation

Article 12. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is headed by the executive council, that makes decisions on general matters pertaining to the activity of the department. The collective leadership of the expeditious activity of the department and ensuring of completion of the executive council's decisions proceed through its executive bureau.

The executive council of the department and its executive bureau are organized and operate under Decree No 76/1973 on the leadership of ministries and the other central bodies of state administration on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

Article 13. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products has in its leadership the head of the department, a member of the government, with the rank of minister state secretary, a deputy minister and a state secretary.

The deputy minister and the state secretary are appointed by a presidential decree, and their duties are determined by the executive council of the department.

Article 14. The Technical-Economic Council and the Commission for Economic Efficiency are organized and operate, under the law, within the framework of the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products.

Article 15. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products has the following organizational structure:

- a. The Directorate for Organization of Contracting, Ensuring of State Fund, Delivery, Purchase and Export;
- b. The Directorate for Inspection, Conservation of Products, Investment Projects and Mechanical-Energy Matters;
- c. The Directorate of Planning, Finances, Prices, Organization and Standardization of Work;

d. The Service of State Reserve.

The organizational structure according to the various work sections of the department and the maximum number of employees in its apparatus are specified in appendixes No 1\* and 2\*.

Article 16. For the remuneration of the work force in the apparatus of the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products use is made of the payments specified in Appendix No VI, Chapter I, in Law No 57/1974 on Remuneration According to the Quantity and Quality of the Work Done.

The remuneration and, as the case may be, the executive allowance for the executives of the department and for the technical, economic, and other specialized personnel of management and execution shall be given in light of the attainment of the indicators specified in Appendix No 3\*.

Article 17. On the date of this decree established is the Maramures Enterprise for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products, with headquarters in Baia Mare Municipality, Maramures County, subordinate to the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products, focusing on contracting for, purchasing and storing farm products.

The Maramures Enterprise for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is established on the basis of reorganizing the Satu Mare Enterprise for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products.

The Maramures Enterprise for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products is organized and shall operate on the basis of worker self-management and economic-financial self-administration, as a legal entity, in compliance with the legal provisions on organization and management of state socialist units and classifies in Grade IV of organization, Group V per branches.

Article 18. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products has under its subordination the units specified in Appendix No 4.

Article 19. On the date of this decree, the enterprises for management of grain and industrial crops under the Central for Management of Grain and Industrial Crops change their name into enterprises for contracting for, purchasing and storing farm products and are subordinate also to executive committees of people's councils of counties and of Bucharest Municipality.

Article 20. The section for contracting for grain and industrial crops and for monitoring the realization of production in the organizational structure of enterprises for contracting for, purchasing and storing farm products, approved by Decree No 162/1973 on establishing uniform structural standards for economic units, is replaced by a section of state representatives for monitoring the realization of the state fund, each having 1-2 posts for each state and cooperative agroindustrial uniform council.

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\* Appendixes No 1-3 shall be forwarded to the parties concerned.

The position of state representative is similar to the functions of chief inspector I and II in county inspectorates for control of product quality, specified in Appendix No VI, Chapter IV, (A), position 2 in Law No 57/1974.

In the Directorate for Contracting For, Ensuring the State Fund, Delivering, Purchasing and Exporting within the framework of the department use is made of the function of central representative, similar to the functions of inspector general and specialized chief inspector, specified in Appendix No VI, Chapter I, (A), positions 30 and 31 in Law No 57/1974.

Article 21. The state representatives within the framework of the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products and from subordinate county enterprises are entitled to apply contraventional penalties stated in Law No 4/1970 on the organization of production and work in agriculture and in other regulatory acts pertaining to its area of endeavor.

If the violations of the law are infractional, the state representatives are required to notify the criminal organs.

#### Chapter IV. Final Provisions

Article 22. Applications of the provisions of this decree shall be done within the limit of the number of workers and of the remuneration funds approved under the plan, for 1983, for the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry for management of grain and industrial crops and the General Directorate of State Reserves.

Article 23. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products shall be provided, under the uniform national plan, according to the criteria stated in the law, with transportation facilities.

The enterprises for contracting for, purchasing and storing farm products, regardless of their degree of organization, shall be provided with a field motorcar intended for transportation of persons on job assignments, with correspondingly supplementing Appendix No 2 to Decree No 277/1979 on measures to rationalize fuel consumption and sensibly manage the automotive fleet.

Article 24. On the date of this decree the Central for Management of Grain and Industrial Crops, subordinate to the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, ceases to exist, and the assets and liabilities in the accounting balance completed on 31 October 1982 are taken over by the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products.

Also taken over on the same date are the activity of forming and storing the state reserve of farm products in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and the General Directorate of State Reserves, together with the material base, work force and remuneration fund involved.

The duties regarding the formation and storage of the state reserve of farm products, specified in the law on the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and the General Directorate of State Reserves within the framework of the State Planning Committee, shall be fulfilled by the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products.

Article 25. The centers for contracting for, taking over and processing the fund of seeds, together with the stations for conditioning seeds, cleaning stations and the storing areas used for seed, together with the work force involved are transferred from the subordination of enterprises for contracting for, purchasing and storing farm products to the subordination of the Enterprise for Contracting For, Conditioning and Packaging Seeds, directly subordinate to the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry.

Article 26. The Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products, at the request of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, shall ensure, through its enterprises, the performance, based on contracts, of some operations of taking over, storing, conditioning, delivering and transporting seeds, for the quantities that exceed the corresponding facilities of the Enterprise for Contracting For, Conditioning and Packaging Seeds.

Article 27. The work force that is transferred to other units, as a result of implementation of the provisions of this decree, is regarded as transferred on job assignment. The work force transferred on job assignment or transferred in the same unit, to lower-paid jobs, as a result of the application of the provisions in this decree, qualify for the entitlements stated in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on establishment of uniform structural standards for economic units.

Article 28. The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 on some measures for sensible utilization of the work force in socialist units shall not be applied for vacant or blocked posts in the units that are reorganized according to this decree.

Article 29. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance, within 45 days after the enforcement of this decree, based on the proposals of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry and the Department for Contracting For, Purchasing and Storing Farm Products, shall submit, for approval, the modification of the plan indicators for the various coordinators, with the resulting influences and with the maintenance of the budget balance approved.

Article 30. Appendixes No 1-4 are integral parts of this decree.

Article 31. The provisions of Decree No 298/1979 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 55-56 of 10 June 1982 and of Decree No 32/1980 on the organization and operation of general directorates for agriculture and the food industry of counties and Bucharest Municipality and of state and cooperative uniform agroindustrial councils, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part I, No 58-59 of 22 June 1982, is amended in accordance with the provisions of this decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 12 November 1982.  
No 420.

## ROMANIA

### ETHNIC UNITY OF ROMANIANS UNDER MICHAEL THE BRAVE

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Aug 82 pp 961-963

/Review by Fl. Constantiniu of the book "Michael the Brave in the European Consciousness. Vol I Foreign Documents," Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982, 693 pages

/Text/ In the preface to his well-known work "History of Michael the Brave," Nicolae Iorga examined the sources upon which his biography of one of the most notable personalities of the Romanian people's history was based and concluded that "A daily (in the sense of a minute reconstruction -- our note) of the external life of the great ancestor could be written, according to so much information, and it would be a useful work. A collection of all the rumors of all aspects of his fame could be made and would be very rewarding." (1) That suggestion of our great historian's is beginning to be carried out by the initiative, which cannot be sufficiently praised, of the General Directorate of the State Archives in collaboration with the Central State Library. It is the first to come off the press of a series of four volumes on Michael the Brave's activity and personality as reflected in the contemporary sources, the historiographical works up to 1918, and the belletristic literature. The first unifier of the Romanian Lands was and still is not only a figure of first importance in Romania's past, crowned with the glory of a deed that no one before him could achieve, but also a symbol of the unity of the Romanian people, who saw in his achievement a constant spur to restore and perpetuate a work that he could accomplish for only a moment under the circumstances of the time. The figure of the great hero has not only aroused the scientific interest of professional historians but has also acquired an emotional connotation that makes any Romanian soul thrill to the mention of the one who was first entitled the "prince of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia." (2)

To collect in a single work all the contemporary and subsequent evidence about the great voivode-unifier means to provide the specialists and the general public with a fund of information that will facilitate their investigations and enable them to evaluate the historic stature of the man who entered the consciousness of all as Michael the Brave.

The published sources on Michael's activity are numerous and take various forms, namely subject collections, separate publications, etc, so that it requires a search and a collecting effort for anyone to read them all, to say nothing of



other sources discovered in foreign archives and kept on microfilm or photostats in the Bucharest State Archives. Written in Latin, Church Slavic, Turkish, Hungarian, German etc., these documents were not translated to make their contents generally available even when they were published. Those difficulties are eliminated by this edition, which includes republications (all accompanied by translations) and unpublished texts. The contributors to the volume say, "We preferred the important information in published documents to secondary information in unpublished ones." (p 38)

The volume includes 241 documents from the period of 14 November 1593 to 9/18 September 1601. They are of varied nature and origin but all include information about Michael's political and military actions and especially his two great achievements, which are, in chronological order, his struggle with the Ottoman Empire and the unification of the three Romanian lands.

Michael's coronation as prince of Wallachia coincided with the apogee of the process of aggravating the material obligations to the Porte. Threatened with ruin all the social-political forces of the country reacted in unison under the banner of the struggle for independence and, aside from the political disagreements and clashes (the prince and boyar groups) or class contradictions (peasants and boyars), sought to create a new framework for relations with the Porte (independence or observance of the autonomous status guaranteed by the capitulations) that would permit the country's unrestricted development. Michael the Brave was the one who heroically undertook that mission, and his performances astonished his contemporaries. Edward Barton, the English agent in Constantinople, wrote Sir Thomas Heneage on 7 November 1595, "Surely, Your Excellency, it is a thing worthy of the highest esteem and eternal glory that Michael alone, the most insignificant and poorest of the dukes, has succeeded in doing what so many emperors, kings and princes could not do, namely to overcome the great sultan's armies." (p 129)

The characteristics of the man who astounded his contemporaries, the characteristics that lent his struggles historic dimensions, were enumerated as follows by Erich Lassota on 31 July 1597: "a prince with an open heart, brave, unwavering and adventurous, who would let nothing stand in his way." (p 161) From the start of his struggle with the Ottoman Empire, Michael always realized that it was of twofold significance, Romanian and European. As he wrote to Jan Patocki, chief of Camenita on 13 July 1595, "I undertook to lift this great burden (of Ottoman domination -- our note) from this poor country of ours to make a shield for the whole Christian world." (p 100) The Porte reacted vigorously to the man who was so boldly opposing its policy of expansion and pillage of the country's resources. It is known that during the summer campaign of 1595, as the Turkish army invaded Wallachia a Turkish administration was established as a sign of abolition of Wallachia's autonomous status. The sultan's orders during the campaign were indicative of the Porte's efforts to bring Wallachia back to dependence by the most frightful methods. The sultan wrote Ahmed, the pasha of Silistra, in 1598: "Without resting for more than two days in one place, make the proper incursions into Wallachia. Kill the male population, enslave the women and children, and plunder and destroy their property and possessions. And upon taking due measures and making suitable preparations, seize and kill the aforesaid scoundrel (Michael -- our note). Do all that is possible and spare no effort so that, Allah be willing, you shall master Wallachia." (p 225)

The documents included in the volume, written by friends, enemies or neutrals, enable us to follow the great epic it has made of the victor of Calugareni and the prince of the three Romanian Lands.

The recall of those episodes that are also pages of patriotic pride in the great history book of the people is especially current because some foreign authors' works (Their bias forbids us to call them historians) describe the historical truth so adversely that they surprise and offend anyone honestly trying to reconstruct the events, in Ranke's well-known phrase, "as they really happened" (Wie es eigentlich gewesen ist). In these authors' works written with a false pen Michael appears as an adventurer and a conqueror of foreign lands, devoid of loyalty. For purposes quite foreign to science, they try to confuse state pluralism (the existence of several Romanian Lands: Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania) with ethnic pluralism. Anyone honestly seeking evidence of the past readily finds that despite state pluralism and the fact that they were separated by boundaries or under foreign rulers, Romanians represented a quite uniform ethnic reality and that Wallachians, Moldavians and Transylvanians were always deeply and intensely aware of the fact that they form a single people.

When Michael brought Transylvania (1599) and Moldavia (1600) under his authority he did not conquer foreign lands. He was as much at home beyond the Carpathians and the Milcov as he was in Wallachia, because the same ancestral home lined all three of them. The documents in the volume bring out the urgent necessities that caused the prince of Wallachia to take military action in Transylvania and Moldavia. He told the papal muncio Malaspina on 11 November 1599 of the "need that compelled him to go into this country (Transylvania -- our note) in order to prevent an alliance between Andrei Bathory, Poland and Ieremia Movila who, in order to gain their ends, "had no obstacle to overcome but his removal from the throne of Wallachia." (p 279) And he explained equally clearly to Giovanni de Marini Polli on 8 March 1598 that "He had to remove the voivode of Moldavia\* (Ieremia Movila -- our note) not in order to invade the country nor out of any greed but so that he could not interfere with the planned expedition against Turkey." (p 181) Michael the Brave did not impose his authority upon any foreign territories, but he eliminated those whom he wished to eliminate and united the three Romanian Lands under his leadership in order to consolidate his position in the struggle against the Turks. His firm attachment to the ancestral land -- "I shall leave my land and country to no one until they drag me from it by my feet" (p 329) -- gave him the strength to succeed and to endure through all vicissitudes. And though the brief interval in which he ruled over the Romanian land and the hostility of so many powerful neighbors did not permit him to complete his unifying effort, the measures he took on behalf of the Romanian villages in Transylvania (the right of pasturage) and the Romanian priests there (exemption from the corvee) are proofs of his realization that he, the voivode, and the humble Romanian peasants, oppressed by that "unio trium nationum" that was the basis of the Transylvanian political regime, were truly of one people and one law (See p 540).

The documents are accompanied by notes and explanations that aid correct understanding of the text. The translations are fluent and sometimes make corrections in the previous ones (Cf. p 159). But we do not think the terms "Coloni et jobagiones Boeronum" (p 92) can be translated by "Slaves and bondsmen of the boyars." (p 96) The status of slave was characteristic of the gypsies and Tatars, while the bondsmen peasants are a category much later than the date the Treaty of Alba Iulia (20 May 1591) was written, even if the corvee was performed then. As we know, the two categories of "colonists" and "serfs" mentioned in the treaty have caused heated discussions in Romanian historiography (3) and as far as we are

\*By force.

concerned, we believe I. C. Filitti's opinion, accepted by P. P. Panaitescu, is the correct one: "Colonists" means people under contract and "serfs" means peasants in a servile condition or bondsmen /rumanii7.

An extensive and rich introductory study by V. Arimia and M. Musat determines the historical background in which the published documents are integrated.

The contributors to the volume, Ion Ardeleanu, Vasile Arimia, Gh. Bondoc, Eugenia Ciocan, Tahsin Gemil, Elena Moisuc, Cornelia Moraru, Mircea Musat, Emilia Postarita, Maria Soveja, Vasile Simandan, Constantin Vlad and Mircea Voiculescu, have done a great service to both historical research and the general public by collecting the documentary evidence about the prince who, by uniting the three Romanian Lands, guided the great effort culminating in the Great Unification of 1918 achieved by the Romanian people, "a Romanian people who knew more and wore what they wanted and realized what they could do," as N. Iorga concluded his "History of Michael the Brave." (5)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. N. Iorga, "History of Michael the Brave," Bucharest, Military Publishing House, 1968, p 8.
2. "Documenta Romaniae Historica," Series B, "Wallachia," Vol IX, p 529.
3. Cf. C. C. Giurescu, "Controversial Problems in Romanian Historiography," Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1977, p 39 ff.
4. P. P. Panaitescu, "The Peasants' Right to Move in the Romanian Lands (Up to the Middle of the 17th Century)," in "STUDII SI MATERIALE DE ISTORIE MEDIE, I (1956), p 67.
5. N. Iorga, op. cit., p 400.

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MOLDAVIA, WALLACHIA UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Aug 82 pp 950-955

/Article by N. Adaniloaie: "Ottoman Suzerainty and the Porte's Disregard (in 1775 and 1812) of Its Obligations To Defend the Romanian Lands." First of a series of answers to current questions of national history.

/Text/ The RCP Program stresses the fundamental idea, based on unquestionable historical facts, that "The masses' struggle against feudal exploitation were closely involved with the struggles against foreign domination ever since the appearance of the first Romanian state units." This particular characteristic had its effect upon the evolution and historic destiny of the Romanian people "characterized by their resolute and self-sacrificing struggle for freedom and unity and for the right to self-determination in their own country." (1)

As we know, the victories over the Turks won by Mircea the Old's armies checked the Ottoman Empire's advance north of the Danube and consolidated Wallachia's international position. The token tribute Mircea paid in the last years of his reign, when the country could no longer depend upon reliable allies, was a kind of ransom of the peace (like that paid in 1456 by Petru Aron, prince of Moldavia) and did not represent any vassalage to the Porte. By the law of the nations payment of the tribute with no other obligations or any interference in the country's domestic and foreign policies did not mean loss of sovereignty. In the course of history Venice, Poland, Austria and others paid tribute to the sultan but none of those states lost its sovereignty to the Porte. The same was true of the Romanian Lands in the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries.

From the oldest times the guiding aim of the great Romanian voivodes' policy was to maintain the Romanian people in the organized form of a state. Whether by military victories over the aggressors or by negotiations on the part of skilled diplomats (sometimes accompanied by cash "arguments") or by both means, the Romanian Lands succeeded in enduring with their own laws and institutions without interruption. That justifies the statement that the Romanians are "the only people in the Carpatho-Balkan area with no discontinuity as a state since the beginning of the 14th century." (2) When Mircea the Old, Dan II, Vlad Tepes, Radu de la Afumati or Stefan the Great accepted payment of tribute and the sultan's suzerainty after stiff resistance to the Turks, it meant that it was the

only possible way to maintain not only the country's independence but also its survival. (3)

It was only after about two centuries of fierce struggles that the Romanian Lands, overcome by the numerical force of the invaders, could be obligated to accept Ottoman domination on the basis of suzerainty. That Ottoman domination, accompanied by loss of Moldavia and Wallachia's independence but preservation of their autonomy and by an increasingly pronounced political and economic servitude, set in toward the middle of the 16th century and was favored by external factors. Interrupted for about two decades by means of Michael the Brave's sword and wisdom, that domination was to be restored in 1610-1611.

In general, the regime of Ottoman suzerainty over the Romanian Lands was aggravated or attenuated or showed periods of relative stability depending on the Romanian people's ability to resist, the internal situation of the Ottoman Empire, and the international political situation. Mihail Kogalniceanu quite rightly pointed on 9 May 1877 that these suzerainty relations "were some sui generis ties, some ties that were weak when the Romanians were strong, and some ties that were strong when the Romanians were weak." (4) The fact should also be noted that thanks to the heroic resistance of the Romanian people, who wished to defend their freedom and ancestral soil (which they had grown to love) at any price and to preserve their national existence, the Ottoman invaders never could make pashaliks (Turkish provinces) of the Romanian Lands, as they did with the Balkan states or Hungary, since they had to leave them an autonomous leadership and administration.

Political relations between the Romanian Lands and the Porte were regulated by some Turkish firmans and some old treaties (called "capitulations") with bilateral obligations that were not honored but invoked by both parties when a new situation arose. (5) These capitulations or "acts of surrender" concluded with the Porte by Mircea the Old, Vlad Tepes, Radu the Fair, Bogdan III and Vasile Lupu referred to the Romanian Lands' rights and the terms on which they accepted the sultan's suzerainty while maintaining their sovereignty.

The capitulations concluded with the Ottoman Empire entitled Wallachia and Moldavia to govern themselves by their own laws, to elect their princes, and to wage war and conclude peace with their neighbors as they would see fit without being responsible to the sultan for their actions. The Turks, recognizing that the Romanian Lands were not conquered by the sword, pledged to respect their territorial integrity and independence, to protect them from possible aggressors, not to interfere in their internal affairs, not to buy or own property, and not to reside or make windows on Romanian soil. For all that and as an obligation of submission to the sultan, Moldavia and Wallachia each pledged to pay the demanded annual tribute. (6) It unquestionably follows from all this that the principalities never gave up their attributes as sovereign countries.

The texts of these capitulations were contested by some historians at the beginning of the 20th century,\*but even if they are later creations and despite some minor errors in dating and phrasing they reflect (and comparison with other documents and the tradition of the time confirms this) the evolution of the Romanian-Ottoman relationships of suzerainty and have "a real historical basis."

(7) We must say that the authenticity of the capitulations was not contested

\*Because the originals had not yet been discovered.



✓  
either by the Porte or Czarist Russia or the diplomats of the great European powers who met at the Paris Congress in 1856. It is also noteworthy that in 1699, during the negotiations at Carlovitz, when the Polish delegates were pressuring the Porte to "cede them" Moldavia and Wallachia, "It replied, as K. Marx said too, that it had no right to make any territorial cession because the capitulations gave it a right of suzerainty only." (8)

Unfortunately the Ottoman Empire rarely honored the obligations it assumed in the capitulations, either to maintain the Romanian principalities' autonomy (It appointed Phanariot princes and constantly increased the economic burdens) or to defend their territorial integrity. The Ottoman Empire's decline might be an explanation of this, but no justification.

As we know, in the 18th century when the Ottoman army could no longer withstand the offensive of the armies of the great European powers because of its constantly aggravated technical deficiencies and weakened military discipline and the wars no longer brought rich gains and loot as before but resulted in defeats and loss of extensive territories, the systematic pillage basic to the Turkish feudal-military state organization was turned with redoubled force against the countries and provinces that were still subject to the Porte and especially against the Romanian principalities, whose resources were exhausted to supply Constantinople and to fill the gaps in the treasury there.

✓  
Following the military confrontations with the Habsburg and Czarist empires and the negotiations with the diplomats of those expansionist powers, the Porte did not hesitate to cede them Romanian territories, although the capitulations obligated it to defend them. That was the Porte's procedure in 1718, when it ceded Oltenia to the Habsburg Empire by the peace treaty of Passarowitz, which terminated the Austro-Turkish war. The Peace of Belgrad, however, was to return Oltenia to Wallachia two decades later.

Similar cessions were to be arranged in the treaties of 1775 and 1812.\* They came about as follows: After the peace of Kuchuk Kainarji was concluded in July 1774, ending the Russo-Turkish hostilities, Austria, although it had not taken part in the war, profited by the weakness of the belligerents and concentrated its troops on the northern border of Moldavia, intending to annex at least a part of that country. In order to legalize this annexation the Habsburg government claimed that the northern region of Moldavia, now called Bucovina, formerly belonged to Pocutia, and since Pocutia (along with Galicia) had been ceded to Austria by the Partition of Poland in 1772, Austria was allegedly entitled to the said region as well. (9) Austria also explained the seizure of Romanian land by the necessity of establishing more direct communications between Transylvania and Galicia. Once the pretexts were found, the Habsburg troops successively occupied the areas of Cernauti, Cimpulung and Suceava in the autumn of 1774 after the withdrawal of the Russian army from Moldavia, and they set up the imperial flags wherever it suited them. (10)

After the occupation of Bucovina by the imperial army, the Viennese court employed "intimidation, corruption and other convincing means," as the Austrian chancellor Kaunitz himself described it (10a), to obtain the Porte's recognition of the fait accompli. Partly through intimidation, by concentrating troops on the border, and partly through adroit promises of Austria's future help in the

\*But without recoveries.

Porte's conflicts with Russia, the Habsburgs tried to convince the sultan that the required "parcel of land" was far too small to compare with their "so advantageous" friendship. (11) The Porte consented to cede Bucovina to Austria by an agreement concluded in Constantinople on 25 April/7 May 1775. (12) The resistance of some Turkish dignitaries was rapidly changed to good will by ducats, diamonds, daggers set with precious stones, Venetian mirrors, porcelains and many other gifts that Baron Thugut, Empress Maria Theresa's representative in Constantinople, provided in profusion. (13) Reis Effendi, Costache Moruzi (dragoman of the Porte), Tahir Aga (Turkish commissar in charge of marking the border), the pasha of Hotin (in charge of determining the border), Iacovachi Rizo (the prince of Moldavia's representative in Constantinople), Alexandru Ipsilanti (prince of Wallachia) and many others were bribed by the Habsburgs to collaborate in or in some cases to close their eyes to the seizure of Bucovina. (14)

Although Russia could have objected, having obtained the Porte's consent in the peace of Kuchuk-Kainarji "to be able to speak on behalf of" the Romanian principalities, meaning a kind of protectorate, it did not even make a gesture of protest against the Habsburg's seizure of Bucovina, despite the fact that the prince of Moldavia, Grigore Ghica, and the boyars of the divan had requested Catherine II's protection against the seizure of the ancestral land at the beginning of 1775. (15) Russia's neutrality is also to be explained by its involvement with Austria because of the Partition of Poland. (16) Furthermore, the Habsburgs had previously obtained the consent of Marshal Rumyantsev, who was still with the troops in Moldavia, by means of stunning gold and diamonds. (17)

Prince Grigore Ghica and the patriotic boyars in Moldavia protested repeatedly and most vehemently against the despotic bargain between the Porte and the Habsburgs. A note to the Porte at the end of 1774, upon indicating the inestimable value of the invaded territory, "urgently" requested aid against this so injurious violation, pointing out that "If the sultan, against all expectations, will not embrace the cause of the province under his suzerainty, the inhabitants of Moldavia, in desperation, might seek the aid.. of another foreign power." (18) In 1775 Grigore Ghica sent the Porte new protests, memoranda and topographical maps demonstrating that the Habsburg Empire was not content with "a single road" to Galicia but would extend its occupation further by leaping from the valley of Moldavia to the valley of Suceava and then into the valleys of the Siret, Prut and Dniester up to the walls of Hotin. (19)

Note that in determining the new boundary in the discussions and transactions held in Palamutka (Balamutca), a locality on the bank of the Dniester north of Cernauti, where some proceedings were recorded (20) of the Austrian and Ottoman commissioners\*, through the venality of the latter the Habsburg Empire seized 46 more Romanian villages in addition to those specified in the Austro-Turkish agreement of May 1775. (21) The prince's appeal to at least leave Suceava city, the storied residence of the voivodes, to Moldavia in setting the boundary was also rejected by the Austrians. (22)

And so Bucovina, the most beautiful part of Moldavia, with its old capital\*\*, 10,000 square kilometers, 75,000 inhabitants, the tomb of Stefan the Great of Putna, and its splendid monuments of medieval art (Sucevita, Moldovita, Voronetul and Humorul), was torn from the nation's body by odious means and in spite of any principles of international law by the Habsburg Empire.

\*In January 1776.

\*\*And 233 Romanian cities and villages. (23)



The Porte, which was obligated by its suzerainty to defend the Romanian principalities and had no right whatever to cede any land that did not belong to it, allowed itself to be bought by the Viennese court. It should be noted here that the treaty concluded in 1512 (or 1513) between Sultan Selim and Voivod Bogdan III (the Blind) specified in Article 5 that "Moldavia shall keep its borders intact and in their entirety." (24) Finally the Porte even resorted to the treacherous assassination of the brave Moldavian voivode, who had protested so firmly against the seizure of Bucovina. The Ottoman yoke was exchanged for the Habsburg one, which was more unbearable in some respects because the integration of Bucovina in Galicia deprived it of any vestige of autonomy, while the attempt was made to denationalize the Romanian population by bringing in foreign colonists, especially Germans and Ruthenians.

In undertaking the war against the Ottoman Empire in 1806, Czar Alexander I intended to annex the Romanian principalities, and he finally succeeded in inducing Napoleon Bonaparte to support that idea during the negotiations at Erfurt in the autumn of 1808. In the immediately following years the contradictory development of the great powers' interests shifted the European alliances and helped to intensify the diplomatic transactions at the expense of the Romanian territories and to curtail the czar's claims. (25)

Since it was necessary to expedite peace with the Turks in order to avoid fighting on two fronts, some Russian politicians and military commanders as well as the English mediators also advised the Czar to moderate his claims even further in 1811. Admiral Mordvinov even tried to convince him that "The welfare of the Russian Empire... did not require the annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia" and that he did not need to gain new territories but to improve the existing ones. (26). General Kutuzov, commander of the czarist Army of the Danube, concluded that Russia's annexation of both principalities "would be beset with impassable obstacles on the part of the Turks, who received tribute and gifts from there. But Moldavia, being more remote," was prized "less in Constantinople." For those reasons he pointed out to Chancellor Rumyantsev in June 1811 that the territory of Bessarabia (27) could be more easily "snatched from the body of the Principality of Moldavia," which even after that would keep "a large enough area" to go on being a vassal state of the Porte. (27a) General Kutuzov replied affirmatively to Rumyantsev's question whether it would be possible to return Wallachia to the Porte in exchange for a cash contribution and to be satisfied with Moldavia alone, and he received instructions to start peace negotiations with the Turks on that basis and to "confine himself to the Siret line" if necessary. (28)

The peace negotiations were begun in Giurgiu on 19 October 1811 and were continued later in Bucharest (in Manuc's inn). The main negotiators were Italinskiy, the former ambassador to Constantinople, and General Sabaneyev on behalf of Russia and Galib Effendi and Dumitrache Moruzi on behalf of Turkey. At the start the Russian delegates claimed "all Moldavia" and later the boundary on the Siret with possession of the three branches of the Danube. Following a special letter from the sultan, the Ottoman representatives rejected those demands and declared (29) that they could only accept the boundary on the Prut as far as Gogilnic and from there in a straight line (about like the one that would be drawn by the Paris Congress in 1856) to the Black Sea, thereby excepting the Danube and southern Bessarabia with the cities of Ismail and Chilia. But Galib's attempt to convince the czarist delegates that it did not behoove such a large empire to haggle

over a few Danube valleys was fruitless. (30) Since the Russians did not agree with the Turkish point of view, the negotiations were delayed until the spring of 1812, while the negotiators for the Romanian territories allayed their boredom with entertainments, banquets, mutual congratulations and even luxurious balls given in honor of the other side. (31)

Pressed by the events that presaged the imminent march of Napoleon's "grand army" to the Niemen, Alexander I asked Kutuzov on 22 Arch 1812 to expedite the conclusion of peace with Turkey by accepting "the Prut as the boundary up to its confluence with the Danube." (32) Thanks to bribery of the Turkish delegates (via Mamuc Bei), the treason of the Phanariotes Dumitrache and Panaiot Moruzi (33) (who concealed from the sultan the letter sent by Napoleon concerning the start of the military campaign against Russia) (34) and the atmosphere of panic "cleverly" created by Kutuzov (and by the two Moruzi brothers) in the grand vizir's camp, the peace of Bucharest ending the Russo-Turkish war was abruptly concluded on 16/28 May 1812. The czarist empire annexed the Romanian territory between the Prut and the Dniester by this peace, "very favorable to Russia," as the Soviet historians recognize. (35)

In consenting to the alienation of this territory, the Porte flagrantly violated (as in 1775) the obligations assumed in the Romanian Lands' acts of surrender. In reference to the treaty of 1812, Karl Marx pointed out that "Turkey could not cede what did not belong to it, because the Porte was never sovereign over the Romanian Lands." (36) Moreover Marx published the very text of those acts during the Crimean War in the NEW YORK DAILY TRIBUNE, 7/19 July 1851, in support of the Romanian people's right to national independence. Marx also pointed out that it followed from those capitulations that "The Danube principalities are two sovereign states under the suzerainty of the Porte, to which they pay tribute, but on the condition that the Porte will protect them from all enemies from without, whoever they may be, and will also not interfere in any way in their internal affairs. The Turks not only have no right to place Wallachia under foreign occupation but are even prohibited from crossing its territory without a serious reason." (37)

Later Marx also opposed the Austro-Turkish agreement of 2/14 June 1854 whereby the Porte recognized the Habsburg empire's claims to occupy the principalities. As Marx emphasized, "Like the Russians before them, the Turks have thus committed a flagrant violation of the Moldavian and Wallachian people's rights. They had no right to place the Danube principalities under Austrian occupation, just as they had no right to declare them Russian provinces either." (38) Marx made a point of saying that "From the moment the Turks violated the provisions of the capitulations" concluded with the Romanians, "they lost their right to suzerainty" over the principalities. (39)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism," Political Publishing House [PPH], Bucharest 1975, p 29.

2. Virgil Candea, Dinu C. Giurescu and Mircea Malita, "Pages from the Past of Romanian Diplomacy," PPH, Bucharest 1966, pp 50-51.
3. See Stefan Stefanescu, "Wallachia from Basarab I 'The Founder' to Michael the Brave," Academy Publishing House [APH], 1970, pp 57-63.
4. MONITORUL OFICIAL AL ROMANIEI, No 118, 27 May 1877, p 3452.
5. "History of Romania," Vol II, APH, Bucharest 1962, p 792.
6. See the text of the capitulations in Dionisie Fotino, "General History of Dacia" Vol III. Translation by George Sion, Bucharest 1859, pp 216-220. The text was also published by Dionisie Fotino in Vienna in 1819 and by Felix Colson in Paris in 1839.
7. Stefan Stefanescu, op. cit. pp 133, 139-140.
8. K. Marx, "Notes on Romanians," APH, Bucharest 1964, p 106.
9. A. D. Xenopol, "Russo-Turkish Wars," Vol I, Iasi 1880, pp 121-123.
10. See Mihail Kogalniceanu, "Historical Writings," critical edition edited by A. Otetea, Bucharest 1946, p 703.
- 10a. See Kaunitz' note to Thugut of 20 January 1775 in Hurmuzaki, "Documents Concerning the History of Romania," Vol VII, Bucharest 1876, p 127.
11. A. D. Xenopol, op. cit., pp 116-117, 124.
12. See the text of this agreement in Hurmuzaki, op. cit., pp 159-161.
13. Ion I. Nistor, "Prince Grigore Ghica," Cernauti 1928, p 15 (Extract from "The Forest of Cosmin," IV, 1927).
14. For example, D. Moruzi received 2,500 ducats, Tahir Aga and Iacovshi Rizo 1,000 ducats each, the pasha of Hotin 30,000 florins, etc. (See Mihail Kogalniceanu, op. cit. p 706, A. D. Xenopol, op. cit., Vol I, pp 139-140 and Hurmuzaki, op. cit., pp 180, 196, 202, 207, 253, 268, 284, etc.)
15. A. D. Xenopol, op. cit., Vol I, p 118.
16. Ibidem, pp 118, 133-135 and I. W. Zinkeisan, "Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa," Vol VI, Gotha 1859, p 107.
17. On 7 February 1775 the Austrian chancellor, Kaunitz, wrote Thugut: "As for Marshal Rumyantsev, as I believe you have been confidentially informed, we gave him a present of 5,000 ducats and a gold tobacco box inlaid with diamonds, for which we received sure proofs of the marshal's good will." (Hurmuzaki, op. cit., p 133).
18. Ibidem, pp 112-114. See also M. Kogalniceanu, op. cit. p 705.

19. Mihail Kogalniceanu, op. cit., p 707
20. See those proceedings in Hurmuzaki, op. cit., pp 255-261.
21. A. D. Xenopol, op. cit., Vol I, p 141.
22. Dionisie Fotino wrote, "This land grab made a bad impression in the country. The counties earmarked to remain under Austria's pressure as well as the neighboring counties objected to the allocation of the boundary line." (Dionisie Fotino, op. cit., Vol III, p 121).
23. Mihail Kogalniceanu, op. cit., p 701. See also N. Iorga, "History of the Romanians, Vol VII, p 304.
24. See Dionisie Fotino, op. cit., p 219.
25. For the great powers' transactions in those years concerning the Romanian territories, see: "Vneshnaya politika Rossii XIX i nachala XX veka. Dokumenty Rossiyskogo Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del," Series I, Vol IV, p 360; Vol V, pp 304, 521; Vol VI, pp 54, 129, 182, etc. Leon Casso, "Russia and the Danube Basin," Iasi 1940 (St. Gr. Berechet's translation from Russian according to L. Casso's work, "Rossiya na Dunaye i obrazovaniye bessarabskoy oblasti," Moscow 1913) pp 125-211. Mircea Musat and Ion Ardeleanu, "Romanian Politics 1918-1921," 2d ed, PPH, Bucharest 1976, pp 10-11.
26. Leon Casso, op. cit., p 141.
27. Note that until 1807 only the Bugeac region north of the Danube Delta was called Bessarabia, but after that date the Russians extended the name to the whole area between the Prut and the Dniester.
- 27a. Leon Casso, op. cit., pp 138-139.
28. Ibidem, p 161.
29. See extracts from Admiral Pavel Chichagov's memoirs in Gheorghe G. Bezviconi, "Russian Travelers in Moldavia and Wallachia," Bucharest, 1947, p 189.
30. Leon Casso, op. cit., pp 167-168, 174. See also N. Iorga, "History of the Romanians," Vol VIII, Bucharest, 1938, p 199.
31. Leon Casso, op. cit., p 180.
32. Ibidem, pp 198-199.
33. He was the dragoman of the Porte.
34. A. D. Xenopol, op. cit., Vol I, pp 207-208. Shortly afterward the Moruzi brothers were condemned to death for this treason.
35. "History of Diplomacy," edited by V. P. Potemkin, Vol II. Translation from Russian by Valeria Costachel, Bucharest 1947, p 98.

36. K. Marx, "Notes on the Romanians," p 106.
37. Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, "Works," Vol 10. PPH, Bucharest 1961, p 329.
38. Ibidem, p 328.
39. Ibidem, p 329.

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CSO: 2700/53

## ARRESTEE IN JULY 'DEMONSTRATION' DESCRIBES EXPERIENCE

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 82 p 6

[Letter to editor by Dragan Blagojevic: "How Things Were for Me in Prison"]

[Text] Here is my report about events that will not be easy to repeat.

For years, I have been selling youth periodicals on Terazije Square. In my race after material benefits, I have never yet gotten around to giving myself an annual vacation. This year, however, I was off the job for 20 days in August. I was in prison, having been arrested on Marx-Engels Square at the end of July.

I spent 20 beautiful August days on the picturesque shore of the Pannonian Sea, as can be seen from the fact that I acquired an excellent tan. I just wanted my hawkers, Goran and Brankica, released from prison--but the woman judge tells me that I wanted to take power. How ridiculous! Who would fight for power in these days of such shortages, heavy price increases despite the price freeze, and stagnation in rural areas? Such a person is either out of his mind or has failed to obtain the right medicines (via connections), and I am not even counting the bookkeeping in athletics.

I nicely tell the comrade-judge that I was not preparing to take power, but she just looks at me. There is no way that she can understand that they have arrested me as the advance squad of the scheming forces of the Belgrade humanistic intelligentsia, as a mute observer (I was just standing on Marx-Engels Square, I shouted nothing, and I kept my hands in my pockets); in other words, a specialist in overthrowing regimes by means of pantomime. "You are a member of a group," she tells me, "another group. You attended an organized and unpermitted public gathering." "I didn't." "Yes you did, what do you mean you didn't?" "I didn't." And that is how I wound up at Padinsha Ferry as a political prisoner.

They took care of me out there: they took away all the medicines that I had brought from home. "Any medicine can also be a poison," a medical student--obviously bored--explained to me, "so you mustn't kill yourself." What disturbed me was the skill structure of the prison family: aside from the medical student and us politicals, they were also people who had failed to buy tickets on the street-car or who had grabbed the ears of bouncers in disco clubs. One had experienced intimate relations with a neighbor woman, whose husband had filed a complaint against him for singing Albanian chauvinist songs. Maybe he had been singing them, who knows? When you have intimate relations with a neighbor woman, in your amatory fervor you may have sang "Red Star [soccer team], those young fellows, they rule the field..."--and afterwards you may get arrested for spreading false reports.

The days passed after that, and the end came soon, as to every other vacation.

[Editor's note: The only reason for our publishing this letter is that it is amusing. What would become of us if we were to publish letters from all those who have spent 20 days at Padinsha Ferry?

CSO: 2800/88



DIZDAREVIC VISIT TO KOSOVO DEFENDED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 82 p 4

[Commentary by I. Filipovic: "Artificial Differences"]

[Text] Discussions on formal and procedural questions sometimes, in fact, screen, or even conceal, the essence. As example of this could have been evident in the Federal Assembly during the delegates' discussion of the "Conclusions on the Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, under Pressure, from Kosovo," published yesterday. To remind the reader, we have in mind that part of the discussion at the meeting of two Federal Chamber committees (for Sociopolitical Relations and for Internal Affairs) that dealt with the visit of the Federal Assembly president and his coworkers to the Autonomous Region of Kosovo. The legality of the visit was, namely, brought into question using the thesis that the "designation of the visit causes confusion" - was it a visit by the Assembly president and certain functionaries, or a visit by an Assembly delegation? Timed coincidentally, the same theme, but broadened by a question on the Federal Executive Council president's visit to the Autonomous Region of Vojvodina, was discussed also in the Assembly of Serbia.

Leaving aside the fact that the customary methods, based on the norms prescribed by the Operating Procedures, have been followed in informing the competent organs of Serbia about both visits, that is to say that the affected republic undoubtedly was kept well-informed during the visit, the post-festum raising of the question of legality can only cause confusion and open the way for other and different thoughts outside the context of the formal and the procedural.

Following the customary beneficial practice of visits by the Federation's highest functionaries, a fairly large number of delegations and personalities had visited Kosovo, especially in the last period. Questions on legality were not raised. Now, on the occasion of Raif Dizdarevic's visit this question is being raised. Why?

The answer is contained, it seems, in the Assembly speech of Batric Jovanovic, in which he offered his assessment of Assembly president Raif Dizdarevic's declaration after his [R.D.] visit to Kosovo. Jovanovic considers that "it

is difficult to get a real picture of the situation on the basis of two-three conversations." "These declarations," continues Jovanovic, "are somehow at odds with earlier declarations, especially with those given by the president of the Presidium of Serbia."

First, it is strange that Batric Jovanovic suggests to both the delegates and the public that the president of the Assembly bases his statements on "two-three conversations." As if the plethora of information and personal contacts, discussions and meetings at all levels simply eluded Dizdarevic. To this plethora of information should be added a full 20 working hours of meetings and talks in the Region: with about one hundred people, from workers in factories and citizens in local communities to the most important leaders in the Autonomous Region of Kosovo.

Second, Jovanovic insists on differences between the assessment presented by Dizdarevic and those presented earlier by Nikola Ljubicic, the president of the Presidency of Serbia. Let us once again put aside the fact that there are no essential differences in the global evaluation of the situation. The more important question is: why this glorification of possible finesses in the approach to the same theme? Does not such an act contain, whether Jovanovic wants it or not, an attempt to sow discord and doubt; is this not a search for differences motivated by totally unprincipled intentions? The delegational mandate and the Assembly tribune should not be misused for such a method. Even if certain differences do exist in our federal, self-managed community, and if they are, in some relations, an expression of pluralism of self-management interests, which is not true in the case at hand, these differences did not and will not hamper agreements and consultations so inherent in our political system. The emphasis of these differences, and even the raising of artificial questions involving "hot slogans," would not objectively speaking, take us too far.

That the questions raised on the occasion of Dizdarevic's and his coworkers' visit to Kosovo, and the way the initiators of this discussion went about it, have indeed nothing to do with principles, which does not mean that they do not reflect a certain state of mind, is also shown by the fact that the delegates refused, by ignoring it, to conduct a broader discussion.

If it is, however, political obligations rather than formal and procedural questions what is really involved, then, do we really have to specially point to the Political Platform of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] on Kosovo, which, in the broadest meaning of the term, lives already for a year in our community as the guide of all subjects of our society in the fight for an even more decisive break with the mistakes of the past, for a more consistent realization of the new course we have begun, and for an even better tomorrow for the region on the basis of the long-range development program--does not, then, this platform, which has precisely laid down the obligations of all of us regarding our relationship to and participation in the gigantic, Yugoslav task of solving one of the present key problems, also obligate the president of the Assembly of the SFRY to carry out his duties within the framework of his legal and constitutional prerogatives?

The impression which Jovanovic's insistence on differences may ultimately suggest, namely that there exist [separate] regional, republican and federal policies on how to settle the situation in Kosovo, must indeed be energetically rejected. The Yugoslav community is one and one only!

CSO: 2800/84

SREBRIC INTERVIEWED ON DEVALUATION, OTHER MEASURES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1662, 7 Nov 82 pp 8-10

[Interview with Borisav Srebric, Vice President, Federal Executive Council, by Scepan Rabrenovic; date and place not specified]

[Text] Borisav Srebric, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council responsible for current economic trends, is a very restrained conversant: He does not overestimate all the things that are being done by the federal government to extract the country from financial difficulties, or promise quick results. This sort of restraint can best be explained by experience. Srebric worked in the Economic Institute in Belgrade for 17 years, 5 years as director for the Serbian Economic Plan. Then he became a member and vice president of the Serbian Executive Council. For almost all that time he has dealt with tasks like those he presently performs. Yet he says that now is his most difficult time, "because this is the most complicated job, and our economic situation is really difficult."

Borisav Srebric had the duty of communicating the latest, by no means popular measures of the Federal Executive Council, which could not find approval everywhere, for there is hardly a single citizen of the country who did not lose some right by these measures. He says that then he did not think about the kind of personal situation in which he found himself: "I was preoccupied with thinking about how I could communicate everything that needed to be communicated, and to do so in the clearest and most understandable manner."

[Question] You have announced new measures that will accompany devaluation, but also measures that will make fundamental changes in operating conditions. When will you "unpack the new package?"

[Answer] Everything that we have done so far, including devaluation, is only the first group of measures that are to create initial conditions for changes. By this alone these measures have limited value and limited action, although among them are some that will have a more lasting impact on operating conditions. Our economy should carry out changes that of necessity would mean an end to the balance of payments deficit and gradually, a reduction in the country's indebtedness. The degree to which those initial conditions will be used depends on associated labor, or on whether organizations of associated labor will defend devaluation in their own interest. That would be to defend devaluation from increases in domestic prices that would render devaluation ineffective, as well as from large consumption, and also from certain pressures by foreign partners who wish, in their own interests, to reduce the impact of devaluation.

## Good Preliminary Conditions

By devaluation we have created a better competitive position for the Yugoslav economy on all markets, and considering the effects of inter-currency factors, avoided certain differences in competitive capabilities. That group of measures connected to devaluation would not have been sufficient if at the same we had not created other conditions for greater production and greater exports. Yet import exemptions for the sake of exports represent a particularly important factor in bringing more rapid production growth, especially for export. By devaluation we have approximately balanced the competitive capability, i.e., increased the income interest of Yugoslav organizations of associated labor in exports.

[Question] What kind of measures will the Federal Executive Council use to protect devaluation?

[Answer] This devaluation has had some preliminary conditions, which have been met and which can make it successful. They are last summer's measures that had to do with limiting expansion of general, mutual and investment expenditures, and they also include frozen prices.

What further steps will we take? First, it is very important that we keep prices under effective control. Everywhere in the world, including in Yugoslavia, devaluation should not lead to price increases, because devaluation is precisely an expression of the divergence between domestic and external prices. Since the exporters and importers among us do not "coincide," our specific feature is that after devaluation we will still have to increase prices for some products, in sectors that are large importers of raw materials. But given the high level of domestic prices, that expenditure backlash of inflation on our economy should not reach final prices, but should in principle be limited to reproduction costs.

That which cannot be disputed is that we must increase the prices of petroleum derivatives, for most of our oil is imported and the petroleum economy cannot bear that burden by itself. The prices of certain other products will have to rise, but in other sectors, final producers can and must adhere to that principle (of not increasing final product prices).

For the sake of example, devaluation will certainly increase the cost of importing cotton, but domestic prices of final textile products are high enough that the devaluation need not affect those prices. Therefore, there is no justification to increase prices for finished textile products if, for example, we should have to increase prices for yarn. Besides that, the textile industry is also a large exporter, so that in fact it gains more from devaluation than it loses on importing cotton and wool.

## Distribution of Income Already Earned

[Question] We had a situation like that at earlier devaluations as well, such as the one in 1980. When, however, the situation is such that the system does not have built-in economic compulsion, but rather free selection of

production, do you think that the measures you have taken so far will be enough to preserve the positive effects of devaluation, or will it be necessary to undertake some additional measures? If so, what will they be?

[Answer] I do not think that the things we have undertaken so far are sufficient, and in fact they are not enough. In my opinion, the most important thing is economic compulsion, which compulsion in fact shows the functioning of economic principles. Unfortunately, our economic system does not have built-in economic supply mechanisms, so that when someone behaves irrationally, he suffers the consequences, as in all countries with market economies. Yet precisely because of that we must undertake measures that will discourage labor organizations from increasing prices.

First, we shall undertake measures that will further restrict all forms of consumption. That refers equally to personal income and other categories of distribution of overall income. Labor organizations will be able to increase personal income only after fulfilling certain conditions in advance, primarily if they are increasing actual net profit. That means, the condition is not satisfied by increasing nominal income by raising prices. Only in that instance will the labor organization not be encouraged to increase prices.

Further, we really must abandon distribution of planned income, for the basic weakness of our entire system of distribution lies in the fact that it makes it possible to divide up planned, and not realized, income: Thus everyone has planned for growth in economic activity, and on the basis of that has put his distribution mechanism into function. Then since distribution of planned income was involved, the income actually earned had in some way to be brought into harmony with planned income, and the easiest way to accomplish that was to raise prices.

From there we must rapidly build a mechanism through which all participants in distribution, all self-management participants in distribution and all users of social income will be able to distribute the income at their disposal only after they have earned it.

[Question] In the current situation we have nearly complete socialization of losses and unemployment. There is also talk that everyone wants a job, but no one wants to work. We also have a law, adopted by the Yugoslav Assembly, which is very favorably disposed to those who have losses. All of these factors are very destimulating.

Will the measures being taken by the Federal Executive Council make it possible to recognize the good from the bad on the market, will those measures force those who make real losses to bear the consequences as well?

[Answer] Without measures like that we will have done nothing at all. In this case, however, it is not simply a matter of measures being undertaken by the Federal Executive Council, but also of systemic decisions in the jurisdiction of the Yugoslav Assembly. There we will propose two measures. First, on the basis of the Law on Associated labor we will propose definite, specific regulations, especially regulations that will weaken the position of idle employees, cutting the security of idle employment. On the basis of these regulations labor organizations will be able more easily to release non-workers.

Second, it will be necessary to change the treatment of losses and those that bring them in a fundamental way. Labor organizations must be responsible for losses, to a degree even when such losses occurred because of objective external reasons, because disparity alone never has and never can be the only reason for losses.

We are driven to such a decision by the fact that the financial situation in the economy is difficult and we cannot externally cover losses, thereby hampering the banks and the economy from financing current expenses for materials. If we must cover losses with credits, then we will have less money for backing those capable of operating better.

In order to handle those changes better, organizations of associated labor must turn to cooperation more than they have previously done. In my opinion the thing that is unacceptable in our system is the truly poor cooperation between organizations of associated labor that are economically and technologically dependent on each other. Attempts to resolve various problems independently, or with the aid of the sociopolitical communities cannot bring any sort of results.

Besides that, it would be necessary to give up the present solitary unrelated investments and switch to making investments based on dependent relationships. That which is invested by everyone by himself while believing that he will obtain raw materials on some phantom market has already caused many disruptions of the market. There changes must be made, such as supplementary measures based on the Law on Associated Labor, which would treat losses and responsibility for business ventures in the proper manner.

#### Which and What Kind of Measure of Value

[Question] It is true that cooperation between organizations of associated labor has been insufficient, but not only in investments. In order for that cooperation to be better, a measures of value must exist. That measure of value cannot be determined subjectively by someone on the outside. At the time of forming an association based on income principles such as are claimed, the one with the higher productivity always suffers.

[Answer] I am convinced that the functioning of objective economic principles, or market laws, is a condition, a general condition that must be fulfilled for us to achieve the pooling of labor and resources, to achieve suitable cooperation between organizations of associated labor, and to achieve greater effects in operations and development.

Naturally, we will not reach such a qualitatively new situation all at once, but what we must do and what will lead to that is the factor that we spoke about at first. It relates to change in the socioeconomic treatment of losses, labor and idleness, and responsibility. We can affect such changes if we make more thorough application of existing mechanisms in our system that are good and if we develop new ones to replace those that are poor.



For example, we have an extraordinarily good formulation of obligations and relations toward obligations. Our law on the monetary system contains a formulation that goes about like this: Everyone who fails to pay his obligations is usurping others' property and threatening self-management. We have not, however, brought that vital provision on the functioning of goods and money relationships to the level of economic so that by itself this formulation has remained a slogan of some distant future, which we cannot reach by this route.

This is only one example of a place where radical changes are needed. Furthermore, we have in my opinion made a cardinal error in developing the mechanism of our system, by saying that personal income has priority in payments. That is very erroneous from the viewpoint of goods and money relationships and the functioning of economic principles. Obligations must have priority, and only after them should come other expenditures, including all the expenditures of the given labor organization.

When we change that, then no one will quickly enter into obligations that he cannot cover. I think we need to begin with that: Obligations must be the thing that is most important in goods and money relationships in our society.

[Question] When can we expect this change in the system?

[Answer] That change will follow on the basis of the action we take in preparing and proposing adjustments within the framework of changes in the monetary and credit system.

[Question] We have gotten into such a situation partly due to excessive state intervention. If that is correct, doesn't it seem to you that we cannot get out of this situation using the same methods?

[Answer] The escape from the economic difficulties in which we are living cannot be sought in administrative measures. That is perfectly clear now. First we must keep in mind that administrative measures, in order to be successful, require administrative mechanisms, and we do not have such mechanisms, nor will we build them.

Therefore, all administrative measures in the sense of limitations or bans are temporary in nature. We must affirm correct mechanisms of the socialist self-management system, seeking basic solutions in increasing effectiveness of our economic system. Yet the system cannot be effective if it does not contain a measure of economic compulsion.

#### Systemic Laws Are Also on the Agenda

[Srebric] We have lived in a single economic system for too long, a system that does not punish those who work poorly. The measures that we are now undertaking, as well as those to be implemented in the coming months, should give us certain improvements that will give us a breather so that we can turn to the basic question of advancing the system of socialist self-management.

Naturally, there are still many unresolved questions. For example, the labor organizations function as a collection of basic organizations of associated labor, and that cannot be good. Or another example: We have dissipated utilization of operating capital and in so doing caused a great decline in the reinvestment of that capital. This in turn has brought the need for greater supplementary credits. Seven or eight years ago we had an operating capital coefficient of 4, and now it is less than 2.

The current foreign exchange system is also not viable, for it has produced three negative phenomena: It has brought a large balance of payments deficit, destroyed the unified Yugoslav market and brought large exchange rate differences. The planning system must also be changed. We have to reach the point where associated labor plans its development in a material sense, while the socio-political communities plan development conditions. Currently we duplicate everything: The labor organizations plan development and we plan development, they are engaged in projecting capacities and we also work with capacities.

[Question] How much time will be needed to implement all those measures, i.e., when will we achieve conditions that permit the functioning of objective economic principles?

[Answer] Economic principles must start functioning more fully as soon as tomorrow. Naturally, it is difficult to say when that process will be complete. It would be unrealistic to say that we will achieve that turnaround in a very short time. We will need at least two years.

#### The Threat of Losing Internal Liquidity

In an interview with Belgrade Television, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, announced that internal indebtedness of the country amounted to 1,300 to 1,500 billion (or approximately five times this year's federal budget). We asked Borislav Srebric to explain to us in detail the way in which this level of internal indebtedness came about:

[Srebric] On the surface of economic life we see that we do not have sufficient capital to purchase agricultural products, credit export equipment and the like. That is precisely because of the fact that the internal financial situation is very very serious.

In my opinion, this occurred because over a long period we gave priority to financing capital investments over financing current expenses for raw materials. In other words, we invested significantly above our capacity, and that investment policy sapped the economy as a whole. Besides that, by socializing losses, tolerating behavior that was unjustifiable for a market economy and spending beyond our means, we ran up numerous deficits.

One of the first is certainly in exchange rate differences that have not been covered. There has also been financing of investments on the basis of projected budgets that frequently have fallen short of expectations. Furthermore, there have been various other deficits, beginning with deficits for supporting exports and including deficits in the pension and invalid-aid

insurance budgets. In recent months there has been an increase in a category that we regard as particularly dangerous, that of unsecured notes. A portion of the total number is to be found precisely in unsecured notes that have no actual backing.

[NIN] What is the role of the state in all of this?

[Srebric] If you are thinking of direct state expenditures, then its role is small. The federal budget previously had a deficit, but currently has none. The role of the state in that is somewhat different: It has not developed systemic barriers, i.e., it has allowed income that did not exist to be spent. That is its major mistake.

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BRIEFS

PRIVATE BOOKSTORE--Belgrade is going to have its first private bookstore. [Actor] Ljuba Tadic and actress Snezana Niksic will be the owners of the bookstore, which will be located on Knez-Mihailova Street. As we learn, the bookstore is supposed to be called "Say Book." New books will be introduced in it, meetings with writers will be held in it, and tea will be available with soft music in the background. Although something similar already exists in the book salon run by "Narodna knjiga" publishing house on Cetinjska Street, the private bookstore is supposed to offer a distinctive feature: visitors will be able to read photocopy editions of works that have not been accepted by the publishing boards of publishing houses. [Text]  
[Belgrade NEDELJNA INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1669, 26 Dec 82 p 25]

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